



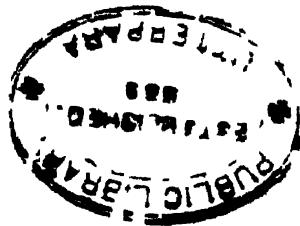








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THE  
CALCUTTA REVIEW

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INDIAN NATIONALITY.

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I.

NOW that the Montagu-Chelmsford Report has let us know where we are in matters of Government organisation and policy, it may be of interest to examine some of the bases on which the future scheme of things is to rest. Whether for good or for evil, the Report accepts as fundamental the political value of responsible government, the fulcrum of modern democracy. Recognising the dangers of transplanting a late development of the West into an essentially aristocratic country, it surrounds democratic institutions with a hedge of caveats and reservations. But running through all this hedge is a definite political aim—complete responsible government within the British Empire. The first measure of this responsibility is to be given tentatively. A Commission is to examine periodically the working of the new institutions and extend or retract as the necessities of the case may demand ; but sooner or later the aim of complete responsibility, or in other words, complete self-government within the British Empire, is to be realised. "We wish," says the Report, "to attain complete responsibility where we can and as early as we can." "The progressive realisation of responsible government in India as

an integral part of one British Empire;"—this, the classic pronouncement made in the House of Commons on 20th August 1917, sets the seal on the political fate of India.

The Report, a masterpiece of both original and comparative politics, opens up several suggestive lines of enquiry. Not the least important of these is the question of Indian nationality, a subject which I hope to deal with in this and a subsequent paper. Other questions germane to the Report, such as the application of federal principles to India, the meaning of responsibility in government with particular reference to colonial parallels, and the applicability of democratic institutions to India, I hope to deal with in separate papers.

The general question of nationality I have examined at some length in previous numbers (July and October, 1916) of this *Review*. To prevent ambiguity in nomenclature, I must repeat some definitions given there. Nationality may be defined as a spiritual principle or sentiment arising among a number of people who are united by bonds of race, language, religion, culture and customs, political antecedents, and common purposes. These bonds are not all present in every sample of nationality. In every nationality some combination of the bonds is present. Nationality, however, is not to be identified with the bases on which it rests. It is neither a sum nor a compound of its elements. Just as the chemical analysis of a cell does not explain life, so the elements of nationality do not explain nationality. It is a sentiment, a spiritual principle, something which exists, but which cannot easily be defined. Its components, too, vary from sample to sample, and, though some occur more frequently than others, it is difficult to say that anyone is essential. The fact of nationality is definite. Not only is it a unifying sentiment, but, since the French Revolution, it has proved a potent instrument of practical policy. To it modern Germany and Italy owe their being, and in it lies one of the root causes of the great war. The rights of

*nationalities are the first plank of the allied peace programme, and the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, the *Magna Charta* of India, is the practical manifestation in India of a policy now accepted by the leading forces of civilisation.*

The parallel of *Magna Charta* is no mere rhetorical figure. What King John signed at Runnymede was no new law. The Great Charter was a document reciting the Governmental rules existing in the common consciousness, though not officially recognised, and demanding that government should be managed according to them. These rules, it is true, were English rules for English people. In our new Charter for India the recognised rules of modern advanced forms of Government are to be applied, progressively, to India. The seedlings of the notions of democracy, self-determination, and nationality, brought by Western education, are to be faithfully tended till they reach maturity. Can we say, as Bishop Stubbs does of the English Charter, that the Indian Charter is the act of a united nation? Are our Indian clergy, barons, and commons, for the first time thoroughly at one? What basis have we for regarding the Report as the focus of Indian unity or representative of a national soul?

Let me again utter a caveat against confusion in terminology. Nation must be demarcated from nationality. The nation is the *organised* force of a people; it is, as Sir Rabindra Nath Tagore has it, the "aspect of a whole people as an organised power." Nationality is primarily a sentiment of unity, not an organisation, though it is also used to designate the people united by common sentiment. Unfortunately the English language is not yet sure of the distinction. Some use nation and nationality as synonymous terms, preferring nation-state to connote what I have defined as nation. We must be clear on this point before we proceed. I use *nation* here to mean the organised will-power of a people. It implies a people united in sentiment and organised in a State with a definite government.

Nationality is the sentiment of unity prevailing among peoples like the French, Czechs or Roumanians, who, because they are so united, are also designated by the term *nationality*. *Nation and nationality may coincide in actual fact, as in the case of Spain, but, where such coincidence exists the difference in idea between nation and nationality continues. The nation is nationality plus the State. Nationality till it becomes a nation, is stateless.*

The goal of India is the modified nationhood which exists in the Colonies. Full nationhood cannot properly be said to belong to the self-governing colonies. Though, however, they are not independent states, they enjoy a far greater measure of autonomy than prevails in the semi-autonomous units of a federal state. In most of the normal functions of government the Responsible Colonies are independent. Legally, the British King-in-Parliament is supreme ; actually, in several essential functions of government, particularly the management of foreign affairs, the Home Government is supreme. Nevertheless, the ideal of complete national independence has never been seriously voiced in the Dominions. Isolated instances of extreme nationalistic views, it is true, exist, just as the idea of complete severance from Britain has sometimes been ventilated in India. National feeling, however, though not separatist, is distinctly noticeable in the self-governing Dominions ; and ever since the Colonies began to show signs of intense national development the British Government has recognised that nationality, autonomy and empire go hand in hand. Every encouragement has been given to the development of national self-reliance in the Colonies, and, supreme though the British Parliament is, the obligations of the Colonies to the mother country have been left to the honourable sentiments of the Colonies themselves, and not prescribed by law. British Colonial Policy has been founded on free will and self-determination. Neither in commerce nor in matters of war and peace has

the British Parliament imposed statutory duties on the Colonies. Underlying this policy of freedom has been the theory that local autonomy is the strongest bond of imperial unity. Many thinkers, however, both English and Colonial, have doubted the continued virtue of autonomy as the strongest link in the imperial chain among later generations, for whom the ties of the home country may be slackened by a greater intensity of local patriotism, and the indulgence of the mother country has the appeal only of a cold historical fact. The common loyalty to the Crown which at present gives life to the imperial organism, it is held, requires definite institutional ties, such as imperial ministers in the Cabinet of the United Kingdom, or a general federal constitution.

Whatever may lie in the future, the facts of the present are clear. In Australasia, South Africa and Canada exist distinctive types of what we may call an imperial personality. In the Empire there is a distinct unity in the midst of a very great diversity. This diversity, first forcibly brought home to British statesmen in the rupture with the New England Colonies, is now encouraged and cultivated. When the lesson underlying the Declaration of Independence had been learnt, colonial policy, after petty attempts at repression, expanded into the liberal channels of which responsible government is the maximum development. Behind the autonomy or responsibility it is possible to detect a new national type. New conditions of life, new environments, and new climates have developed in the Colonial the peculiar national stamp of their countries. The terms Canadian or Australian by no means mean merely Britons who had travelled to and worked in Canada or Australia. They imply individuals who have a culture and institutions of their own, whose ways of life and problems of government are distinct from those of any one else. They imply, in short, the idea of nationality—colonial nationality it may be, but still nationality. Their antecedents,

customs, political institutions, interests, language, religion and political purposes are one, and by birth or adoption they are sentimentally attached to their particular countries. They have a strong colonial loyalty, which, as the great war has shown, co-exists with an equally strong imperial loyalty.

The fact that the Colonies now possess considerable armaments of their own, and are free to join in or stand out from military enterprises of the United Kingdom places them on a higher status than is usually understood by the word colonial. "Countries which have the power to supply themselves with effective protection or even with substantial protection," says Professor Keith in his *Imperial Unity and the Dominions*, "may justly claim that they have outgrown a colonial status, may resent the phrase. 'our Colonies' used fondly of the Dominions by the average inhabitant of the United Kingdom, may insist that the title Dominion or Commonwealth should be replaced by kingdom, and may even seek to compel the abandonment of the term colonial as applied to self-governing possessions or, more properly, countries."

No greater mistake could be made than to regard the "Colonial" as an emigrant Briton. He is an Australian or Canadian-born citizen whose traditional and territorial ties are definitely of his own native country. This has long been evident in the national movement in the Colonies. Examples are not wanting of distinct divergence of view between colonials of the first generation or emigrants, and "native" colonials. It may be remembered that in the early days of the war considerable feeling was raised in the Colonies by the unjust statement, believed in certain quarters, that the rally to the Imperial flag in the Colonies was a rally of those who were British, not Colonial, by birth. Professor Keith, in discussing the legal aspects of naturalisation and nationality, points out the same thing. "While British nationality is in one sense indivisible, there is an

inevitable tendency to make a distinction between British subjects in regard to their connexion with the United Kingdom or a Dominion. The term British is often applied in the Dominions to natives of the United Kingdom, and the terms Canadian, Australian, New Zealander, South African, and Newfoundlander, are regularly applied to the classes of British subjects born in these Dominions, or identified with them by residence. In Australia there is a strong Australian native movement, which consists not of aborigines, as might be supposed, and as newly-imported Governors are most unjustly credited in the popular mind with a desire to believe, but persons who being Australians were also born there. The use is significant, as it proves that there is felt to be need of a term to distinguish between the Australians by adoption and those by birth."

The grant of autonomy to the Colonies is meant not only to encourage colonial nationality but to strengthen imperial relations. The same attitude has now been adopted towards India. Two quotations will show the present position without further remarks. The first is from *Imperial Unity and the Dominions* by Professor Keith, who, though now Professor of Sanskrit in Edinburgh University, was for a considerable time in the inner circle of the Colonial Office. The second is paragraph 180 of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report.

Professor Keith says:—"The eradication of the adjective Colonial from the English speech is doubtless impossible, but it is common ground with all responsible statesmen that all possible steps must be taken to further the national life within the Empire of the self-governing Dominions. Nor is it doubtful that this end is to be obtained in one way only, the encouragement of the greatest autonomy in self-government coupled with the creation of closer bonds of union between the several parts of the Empire as a whole. The first part of this proposition is self-evident: any check to the growth in self-reliance of the

peoples of the Dominions would be a calamity ; but the second part is not less indisputable. No Dominion could possibly by whatever extension of its national life be as great as the British Empire ; even if Canada possessed the most highly educated, the most hardworking and the most intelligent of the people of the world, nevertheless in organic connexion with forty-five millions in the United Kingdom and five millions in Australia they may hope to reach yet a higher destiny than can await them as Canadians only. Canada herself and the Commonwealth represent aggregates of independent units, nor can any one doubt that the life of Canada and the Commonwealth is fuller and better than that of the units from which they have emerged could have been : even five years have done not a little to broaden the outlook of South Africa, and the difficulties of the task should not make us despair of any solution for the problem of the self-governing portions of the British Empire other than the loose alliance which some believe is all that is possible."

The Montagu-Chelmsford Report says :—“ We have reason to hope that the result of this process (the new scheme of government) India’s connexion with the Empire will be confirmed by the wishes of her people. The experience of a century of experiments within the Empire goes all in one direction. As power is given to the people of a Province or of a Dominion to manage their own local affairs, their attachment becomes the stronger to the Empire which comprehends them all in a common bond of union. The existence of national feeling, or the love of, and pride in, a national culture need not conflict with, and may indeed strengthen, the sense of membership in a wider Commonwealth. The obstacles to a growth in India of this sense of partnership in the Empire are obvious enough. Differences of race, religion, past history, and civilization have to be overcome. But the Empire, which includes the French of Canada and the Dutch of South Africa—to go no

further—cannot in any case be based on ties of race alone. It must depend on a common realisation of the ends for which the Empire exists, the maintenance of peace and order over wide spaces of territory, the maintenance of freedom, and the development of the culture of each national unity of which the Empire is composed. These are aims which appeal to the imagination of India and, in proportion as self-government develops patriotism in India, we may hope to see the growth of a conscious feeling of organic unity with the Empire as a whole."

To foster national feeling by means of responsible government, or autonomy is thus a central axiom of both Colonial and Indian policy. In each case not only is it necessary for itself, but is counted on as an imperial asset. Before dealing with the imperial side of the question in India, however, we must first consider whether there is, or will be, an Indian unity analogous to the unity of Canada, Australia or New Zealand. It is not my purpose at present to examine closely the question of Colonial nationality. Were I to do so I could not exclude the union of South Africa, which might present a much closer analogy than the other self-governing Dominions. Neither time nor circumstance enables us to form a judgment on recent South African policy. The fusion of two distinct nationalities after a bitter war, not to mention the native population, and the difference between colonials of the second and subsequent generations and emigrants, is not the work of a day. It is not surprising that the outbreak of the war raised considerable anti-British feeling in parts of the Union; but even those separatist tendencies seem to have been severely discomfited by the defeat of the Nationalists in October, 1915.

We may now proceed to our main subject—Indian nationality. An obvious method of testing Indian nationality is to grind it in the usual mill—to examine, that is, the normal "unities" of nationality as applied to India. It must

be remembered however that these unities vary exceedingly from example to example of nationality, and, though the normal bases of western nationalities may be absent in India, other elements may exist, some of them applicable to India alone. Certainly we shall find glaring discrepancies and surprising analogies, but in our final construction it may be possible to trace certain threads which, woven together, may serve to bind the various antagonisms of India together at no very distant future.

**I. Race.** One of the most common basis of national solidarity is community of race. In many western nationalities the racial bond is a belief in a common origin. Though this belief may not have survived in any definite form in old established nationalities, it has been in most cases a powerful factor in their actual composition.

The belief in a common origin is in all probability a survival of the patriarchal type of society. Although the patriarchal family was not universal among primitive peoples, sufficient evidence exists to convince us that in the development of the state the patriarchal system had considerable influence. With the extension of the family to a series of families or tribe, the oldest male, originally the father of the family round which others were grouped, was the head or ruler. Whatever modifications this patriarchal type of government underwent in various places, the fact is clear that the patriarch was a ruler, and that kinship was a necessary element in early civic life. Kinship or blood-relationship, in fact, was so essential that often early peoples adopted the legal fiction of adoption in order to secure the advantages of civil society. The bonds of kinship were therefore often purely fictitious, but the very fact that legal fictions were necessary shows the power of kinship as an element in early social organisation.

The natural fact of descent was further strengthened by primitive religion, or rather superstition. Primitive peoples live in a spirit world: all their thoughts and actions are

conditioned by the possible good or evil acts of spirits. One of the forms such superstition takes is the worship of the spirit of the departed, or ancestor worship. Judging from the evidence available, not only from the past but from the primitive peoples actually existing to-day, we may reasonably conclude that the worship of the patriarchal ancestor led to a monarchical form of government. Monarchs, once established, must, of course, have done all in their power to encourage the custom on which their own security of tenure depended. The worship of ancestors, moreover, naturally extended to the first ancestor or original head of the monarchical house. Sanctified by the lapse of time and the heroic stories of tradition, the early ancestor, or ancestors, became the tribal gods. Tribes not fortunate enough to have the ancestry necessary for the imposing pageantry of their neighbours evolved the simple expedient of inventing ancestors round whom gradually the halo of religion and tradition became as genuine as that of the other.

In the ancestors or early monarchs was centred both the loyalty and devotion of the tribe. There was no separation, as now, between religion and political allegiance. Church and State were one, separate, neither in fact nor in idea. The result was, naturally, a loyalty combining both the religious and civic force of early man. Nowadays we often find political allegiance at variance with religious—as in Ireland—but in early communities reverence and loyalty were one. The full force of the early mind or soul was concentrated on his co-extensive Church and State.

These stories of common origin are frequently found in western societies. Sometimes the common ancestor is a god, as Zeus, or simply an historical personality, real or imaginary, as Hunyor or Magyor. Everyone is familiar with the Bible story of the creation of the world, of the sons of Noah and the Patriarchs. Early literature is filled with stories of heroes and gods—or rather god-heroes whose

exploits, more often imaginary than real, were the material on which early civic loyalty was fed.

The modern sciences of Anthropology, Ethnology and Comparative Philology, it is true, have made severe inroads into such national beliefs. By anthropometry and the comparative study of languages and institutions these sciences are able to mark off racial groups, and a study of the boundaries of modern nationalities reveals considerable discrepancies. However pure the early Zeus-descended Greeks were, for example, the modern Greek nation (which is coterminous mainly with the Greek nationality), is racially mixed to a very high degree. The Germans and British are largely racially homogeneous but they are distinct nationally. So are the Scotch and English, while the Americans, racially much divided, are one nationally.

The chief point of the racial bond, however, is not either its agreement or disagreement with western national boundaries. With the advancement of civilisation other considerations—common ideas, common purposes and so forth—replace the natural basis. This process, of course, will also take place in communities relatively less advanced, when they advance. The importance of the racial bond is in the *origin* of nationality, in the creation of a feeling of solidarity, which once existent may be still further strengthened by idea-elements as the communities advance.

Applying the race test in Indian nationality what we find is a total absence of common origin and common physical characteristics. From the point of view of race alone India could be a series of nationalities but not a single nationality. Not only is there a number of clearly defined racial groups in India, but even in what is usually regarded as homogeneous groups there is a considerable amount of race mixture. Thus the possibility of national fusion might be seen to be present at least in one large group of the Indian population, the Hindus, in the story of the common origin

in Brahma. This story, however, ideal origin though it be, is more of the type of a general origin in God than the particular origin of a civic group. Furthermore, whatever its truth, whether it is *a posteriori* explanation of the established fact of caste, or a purely religious doctrine, it is no basis for the solidarity of Hindus with the many millions of non-Hindus.

Ethnology, moreover, has so far controverted the theory as an account of the origin of Caste that among the Hindus themselves it has shown very distinct lines of racial cleavage. Whatever the truth of Risley's theory of the origin of caste the very fact that he adopted an ethnological basis to explain the origin of caste is sufficient to show the importance of racial division in the Hindu community. The subject of caste, however, and its place in national development we must consider later on. It is sufficient for our present purpose merely to state the basis of Risley's conclusions first, the correspondence which can be traced between gradations of caste and ethnological type ; second, the development of mixed races from stocks of different colour ; and thirdly, the influence of fiction. Nesfield indeed in his study of castes in the North-West Provinces and Oudh, proceeded on the basis of the racial unity of the Hindus, but whether by the test of anthropometry, or, as suggested by Sir Edward Gait, of pigmentation, his theory has been exploded.

Apart from the racial distinctions in Hinduism itself, several distinct racial types exist in India. In his Census Report of 1901, Sir Herbert Risley gives seven distinctive types, exclusive of the Negritos of the Andamans. These types are : (1) Turco-Iranian, of the North-West Frontier, (2) Indo-Aryan, of the Punjab, Rajputana and Kashmir, (3) Scytho-Dravidian of Western India, (4) Aryo-Dravidian of the United Provinces and Bihar, (5) Mongolo-Dravidian, of Bengal and Orissa, (6) Mongoloid, of the Himalayan areas, (7) Dravidian, of South India, the Central Provinces and Chota Nagpur. Risley's classification, though

it has been questioned in several particulars, is representative. The criticisms passed upon it by ethnologists and philologists have not vitiated the general fact of racial division, though they have questioned the truth of several of Risley's details. The race division, in fact, is obvious not merely to the scientific investigator but to the man in the street. The difference between Pathan and Santal, Sikh and Madrassi, Ghurka and Mahratta, Rajput and Bengali cultivator is too glaring to escape the notice of even the most superficial observer.

Nor is colour a bond of unity. Though the various peoples of India may be generally designated "coloured," there is so much variation in the colour—from the fair inhabitants of the North-west and the yellow Mongolians, to the dark, almost black, indigenous tribes in Southern India—that colour is less a guide in India than any other country in the world. Colour, moreover, has proved itself a separatist more than a unifying element. One of the fundamental elements in the race theory of caste origin is race-purity. The higher castes belonging to a different race have prevented intermarriage to preserve their racial pride of place. The caste system from this point of view is the most rigid colour-bar in the world. That the colour element is at least to some extent founded on fact is obvious from a comparison of the higher castes, particularly the Brahmins, in Bengal, with the lowest. The fair Brahmin, not only in stature and cast of countenance, but also in colour, differs greatly from the Sudra. Not only so, but it is well known that the average Bengali possesses a discrimination in personal pigmentation which the European often entirely fails to appreciate.

These racial divisions of India as in most instances of racial cleavage, are accompanied by equally marked distinctions in traditions, language and culture. Whatever the unity, therefore, of separate sections of the population, there is no unity of the population as a whole. The

Mahomedan, differing radically in his religious views, and tracing with pride his ancestry back to the great Arab and Moghul conquerors is not likely ever to claim kinship with the pacific Hindu. The Mahrattas or Rajputs will not own a common parentage with the South Indian Dravidians or the primitive Mundas and Oraons. The hill-men, again, who, if they are not so numerous have great prestige in war, will not fraternise easily with the more lethargic plainsmen. The physical types not only vary physically, but also culturally. They represent different stages in culture just as their head measurements or colour vary. The student of ethnology, therefore, did his view not extend beyond the range of his own science, would regard the unity of India as impossible of realisation. Not only would he find the ethnological and cultural groups so different that a comparison of India not only with a single state, even were it Austria-Hungary, but with the continent of Europe as a whole, would be misleading, but, tracing the history of his racial groups, he would find that race had been directed towards separation rather than consolidation.

Race, therefore, does not help us in finding a common basis of Indian unity. As already pointed out, however, in advancing or advanced communities the natural basis of race tends to be superseded by spiritual or ideal elements. How far these other elements have superseded or are likely to supersede the great diversity of races is the subject of a later part of this enquiry.

2. The differences of race in India are very largely reproduced in language. Race, language and culture are closely interconnected, but the connexion by no means amounts to identification. Both Sir Herbert Risley and Sir Edward Gait in the Census reports of 1901 and 1911 respectively particularly mention the danger of founding Indian racial theories on linguistic facts. The existence of unwritten languages, the vitality of which is feeble, often leads to their complete disappearance ; the weaker gives

*place to the stronger. In North India, for example, the previously spoken Munda dialects have disappeared before the spoken and written Indo-Aryan languages. Unwritten languages in India die readily. Numerous examples exist of aboriginal languages disappearing almost wholesale.* Sir Edward Gait quotes the examples of the Nagas and Kukis of Manipur becoming Hindus and adopting the Manipuri dialect, and the hill-men of Burma who descend to the plains becoming Shans or Burmese in the course of a single generation.

Though there are examples of racial and linguistic mixture, the same general truth is applicable in language as in race, that in India there is a collection of nationalities without a single nationality for the whole. The great importance of language as an element of nationality, and the peculiar position of India in this respect, demand a full, detailed treatment of this "unity." Language is not only important as the vehicle for the expression of common cultural, social and political ideas, but it fosters a loyalty of its own. Many of the modern nationalist movements in Europe—such as the Polish and Czech—turn largely on language. The Polish and Czech languages are the palladium of nationalist feeling, and not only do the Poles and Czechs keep their languages active in their own countries but they carry them to America, where by magazines and newspapers, the national flame is fanned and kept alive. Every nationality is proud of its own literature, whether it be for heroic tales, folk-lore or songs, and every national literature has some merit which it can contribute to the sum-total of human culture.

The chief value of language as a national bond is that it is the medium for the common understanding of political and social ideals. It may be regarded as a condition of the successful operation of the other elements. Common political aspirations are of little value among a population which cannot communicate with each other. The existence in large

*American factories of groups of nationalities who cannot understand each other's language has prevented the extensive operation of trade-unions.* Much more so does the lack of a medium of common expression stand in the way of political union, which is a much wider, more complicated matter than mere industrial union. The political value of language, as a centre of loyalty for a particular nationality, may be seen in the attempted suppression of Polish and French by the Germans in the non-German territories of East Prussia and Alsace-Lorraine.

That language is not a universal test of nationality is shown by the use of English in America and England. However much the jealousies of these two nations may have been observable in the past, the existence of a common language is bound to make an international *rapprochement* between these countries more easy than would be possible were there no common medium of expression. War, whether civil or international, between people speaking the same language has always been unsavoury. The present open-arm reception of the Americans by the British is undoubtedly an emblem of mental relief after the somewhat difficult period when the American position in the war was not clearly defined.

The general linguistic position in India, as given in the last Census Report, shows that 233 millions or 74.3 per cent. of the people speak Indo-Aryan languages, 63 millions or about 20 per cent. speak Dravidian, and 13 million or about 4 per cent. speak languages of the Tibeto-Chinese family. Austro-Asiatic languages are spoken by about four and a half million people. These general linguistic families are subdivided into numerous sub-families with almost an infinite number of dialects, a considerable number of which claim over a million speakers. One of the most noteworthy facts about language is the great variety spoken in one province. Bengal is an exception, as over ninety per cent. of the people in the province speak Bengali. In

*Assam fifty per cent. speak Bengali, twenty per cent. speak Assamese, while nearly one hundred other languages are spoken by the remaining fraction of the population. In Bihar and Orissa the majority (about sixty-five per cent.) Hindi and Bihari dialects. Twenty per cent. speak Uriya ; Mundari, Santali, etc., etc., are spoken by the remainder. The most widely spoken language in Bombay is Marathi and even then it is used by only forty per cent. Gujerati is spoken by twenty-eight per cent. and Sindhi by thirteen per cent. of the people. Two-thirds of the Burmese talk Burmese and innumerable other dialects are spoken in varying proportions. In the Central Provinces and Berar the majority (fifty-five per cent.) speak Hindi dialects, thirty-one per cent. speak Marathi, and here again we have numerous less known dialects spoken by small percentages of the people. In Madras the same incongruous elements appear. Forty-one per cent. speak Tamil, thirty-eight per cent. Telugu, while the others speak Malayalam, Uriya, Canarese and Hindi. In the Punjab and the United Provinces forty-five per cent. speak Western Hindi, thirty-two per cent. Eastern Hindi, twenty per cent. Bihari and three per cent. Central Pahari.*

The question of a common language is undoubtedly one of the most important political issues awaiting solution in India. National unity if it is to be more than the "ramshackle" unity of Austria-Hungary, where the oath of allegiance is (or rather was) administered in eight different languages, must have a common medium of expression. Up to the present the common medium has been English, but with the growth of nationalistic feelings in India, there is a considerable body of feeling in favour of the adoption of an Indian language. As I shall show, the leaders of Indian opinion do not favour such a course ; but there is not the slightest doubt that with the liberalising of institutions the demands for more "Indianness" in language will become more and more insistent. It is to be hoped that the bitter linguistic

*conflicts which have marked the recent history of Austria-Hungary will not appear in India, though here unfortunately even more ground for bitterness exists.*

At the present moment the tendency is not towards Indian nationalisation, but local nationalisation. The simple facts of the census show the non-existence of "Indian-ness" in language. The nationalistic demands are not all-Indian but local. Naturally such a demand should make itself felt most in the provinces where there is most linguistic homogeneity, and that is exactly what has taken place. In Bengal, where ninety per cent. of the population speak Bengali, many people, not only Bengalis but Europeans, favour the development of a completely vernacular educational system, even to the extent of a vernacular university. That the question of vernacular universities is not a merely academic problem is shown by the recent creation of the Urdu Osmania University in Hyderabad, a province with considerable homogeneity of language and religion. The extension of this principle might easily lead to political complications. That politics and language are closely connected in India needs little demonstration, and that the political element is increasing is amply proved by the difficulties encountered in the Language Census in 1911 as compared with 1901. Sir Edward Gait found that in addition to the normal difficulties of enumerating the people according to language, "another (cause) having its origin in political considerations, has given more trouble than heretofore. Amongst many educated Hindus, there is a tendency to belittle the great differences which actually exist between the different parts of the Empire; and it is sometimes alleged that there is only one language spoken throughout Northern India." "The Gaekwar of Baroda recently asserted," he continues, "that he had never yet met a native of India who could not understand easy Hindi. He was thinking presumably of Northern India, but even there, there are many millions

of uneducated villagers to whom Hindi, be it ever so easy, is quite unintelligible."

From Macaulay's day up to the present the existence of English as the common medium of expression has been an axiom of Indian education. The primary purpose of English was not political, but educative. The dissemination of western ideas had to be accompanied by the western language for reasons other than political. The vernaculars, though they were to be encouraged, were not considered fit vehicles for western notions. A new world of ideas and facts had to be accompanied by a new language. This new language, however, spreading all over India inevitably became the agent of new political ideas ; it led to new political institutions ; it discovered a unity which had not before been recognised, and English was the emblem and medium of expression for that unity. The new language, moreover, was so acceptable to the people that its existence as the official and common language of India soon became stereotyped.

The official view of the Government of India may be judged from a debate which took place in 1915 in the Imperial Legislative Council on the question of teaching through the medium of the Indian vernaculars. The Educational Member of the Governor-General's Executive Council, Sir Harcourt Butler, in summing up the debate, gave the official view in a terse sentence : "I may say at once that to dethrone Western culture or restrict English education would commend itself neither to the Government nor this Council." In August 1917, at a conference held in Simla on the same subject, a conference summoned partly as a result of the Council debate, Lord Chelmsford affirmed the Government view in these words : "Sixty-three years have elapsed since the date of Sir Charles Wood's despatch and English education has taken firm hold upon the country. It is surely out of the question now to talk of going back on the established lines of our educational system. The interest of the educated classes is centred in English. English is on the high road

to become, if it has not already become, among the educated classes the *lingua franca* all over India. English is required in all the public administrations of the country. While I have much sympathy with those who deplore the neglect of the vernaculars, is it not obvious that the substitution at this time of day of the vernaculars for English is beyond the bounds of practical politics, even if the Government were willing to consider such a policy . . . . . Again, the very multitude of the vernaculars presents a practical difficulty for which I have never seen a satisfactory solution propounded. Moreover, with each generation English will come more and more to be learnt not in the schools but in the every-day intercourse of the home. This larger question is not now before you, but in view of what has been urged elsewhere, I have briefly enumerated some of the patent objections to a reversal of the present policy."

The 1915 debate in the Imperial Council is an interesting revelation of the attitude of the Indian leaders on the question. It shows a deep-rooted feeling in India against the substitution of vernaculars for English in higher education. Though most of the members of the Council, both official and non-official, strongly supported the teaching and development of the vernaculars, there was almost complete unanimity in the place of English as a national medium. The Resolution, though it led to much purely pedagogic discussion, elicited some interesting pronouncements from the leaders of the various provinces.

The mover of the Resolution, Mr. Rayaningar, after quoting many authorities on the subject of teaching through the vernacular, and refuting many possible arguments that might be brought against him, summarily dismissed the national argument in these words: "Then there remains the last objection, that the proposed measure will interfere with the unification of the Indian peoples. Sir, to my mind the objection appears to be meaningless. Sometimes people hazard opinions and say that but for different languages,

Indians will be one Nation. I very much doubt the soundness of that opinion. What about our different castes and creeds? If all these differences disappear, I daresay the difference of language too will disappear."

The sweeping facility with which these sentences brush aside the fundamental questions of Indian national unity was met with very strong opposition by most members of the Council. Mr. Dadabhoy bluntly told the Council that there might be some justification were the Resolution backed by a strong public opinion, but that support he said was entirely lacking. Mr. Ghaznavi in combating the Resolution, brought the nationalist position into strong relief. Some people say that as we condemn the compulsory Germanisation of Poland, so we should resent the imposition of English as a compulsory medium of instruction in India. "But," said Mr. Ghaznavi, "India is not Poland. If there had been one common vernacular throughout India, no Indian would have opposed the making of that vernacular the medium of instruction not only up to the matriculation class but right up to the end of a student's college career. In India, where a diversity of language and creed prevails, it is the earnest desire of all patriotic men to push forward the knowledge of English, which is alone the *lingua franca* between all sects of her educated sons. English is the medium of communication not only between Indians and the British, but also amongst themselves, both at the Congress and on the Moslem League platforms, as well as on all occasions when Indians from different parts of the country assemble together. Therefore, any step taken to retard it must be regarded as a decidedly retrograde measure."

Mr. Surendranath Banerjee, while conceding the sentimental value of the Resolution, pointed out that in Bengal, alone there were some twenty vernaculars at various stages of development, and that the introduction of vernacular education would lead to confusion more confounded. Raja

Sir Muhammad Ali Muhammad Khan regarded the Resolution as highly retrogressive. "Since the advent of British Rule in India," he said, "its greatest achievements has been in the field of education, and it is through that education alone that India has under the beneficent guidance of its administrators achieved the consciousness of its being an important unit of the British Empire. By coming in contact with Western civilisation and all that is ennobling in it, India's standard of life has risen. All these results, Sir, have been achieved because the medium of our education has been a language of Macaulay and Burke."

Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy expressed himself in strong terms thus: "The feeling is very strong in Bombay in favour of the present system of education, and any attempt to introduce into the schools there the Hon'ble Mover's scheme of compulsory vernacular education will cause alarm which might easily develop into discontent;" and later he said, "With English at a discount in our high schools, all hopes of the disappearance of local narrowness based upon linguistic differences of the people of this great continent and of their unification into a common hylozoic whole must be at an end."

Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviya in making out a case for vernacular instruction was careful to avoid the national arguments. He was in favour rather of a co-development in vernacular and English education. "While we acknowledge and fully and gratefully acknowledge the good that has come to our country through English education, we feel, those of us at least who are more in favour of the Resolution than against it, that the policy of keeping up all the arrangements necessary to enable our youth to acquire a high degree of knowledge of the English language and literature, does not conflict with the policy of promoting to the fullest extent the natural or proper use of the vernaculars of the country for the instruction of the people."

The imperial, as well as the national value of English was mentioned by Sir Ibrahim Rahimtulla : " Every one of the non-official members who has taken part in the debate has recognised the great necessity of promoting English education and I think it is universally recognised that one of the greatest boons which the British connection has conferred upon the people of India is the provision of English education." Later he speaks of the common language as a boon " which has made possible not only the various provincial and all-India organisations, but also this or other legislative assemblies to which we come to represent the views of the Indian people in the official language before the highest officials in the land."

The most slashing as well as the shortest of the speeches come from Bengal. Rai Sita Nath Ray, Bahadur, opposed the motion in no uncertain language : " I beg to oppose my Hon'ble friend's resolution with all the emphasis I can command. Does he want to envelop us in that gloom and darkness which prevailed in the country during the time when Lord Macaulay came to this country and which his great educational policy was instrumental in dispelling ? It was Lord Macaulay who laid the foundation of that enlightened educational policy which has done so much to spread the culture ; the enlightenment and the Science of the West. We owe a deep debt of gratitude to Lord Macaulay for his bold and persistent efforts in insisting upon that English, and English alone, should be the medium of imparting education in this country. Where would we have been, where would have been this boasted and enlarged reformed Council but for the high education acquired through the medium of the English language ? Does my friend wish that the thousand and one languages which prevail in the country should be the media of instruction for learning Science, Mathematics, Engineering, Medicine and law of the West, which can only be learned through the medium of English ? Does my friend want to produce a

Babel of confusion? It is a surprise to me that, in this twentieth century, such a resolution could have been conceived, far less seriously brought forward for acceptance in this august assembly."

I have given these excerpts at some length to show from the mouths of representative leaders of various parts of India how the English language, whatever its merits or defects as an educational instrument are, is regarded as a common political bond. Sir Herbert Risley in his *People of India* after a study of Sir George Grierson's exhaustive analysis of the linguistic problem involved in a Census Report drew a similar conclusion. "It is possible indeed," he says, "distant as the prospect now appears that English after all may stand the best chance of becoming the national language of India." Whatever may be in the future, the fact is that English *is* the only national language of India. It is the official language; it is the medium of communication for educated classes throughout India; it is, in varying degrees, a household language; it has to a certain extent reached the vocabularies of the lowest classes. It is, too, the common language of the press, the political platform, and the universities, and last, but by no means least, it is the imperial language, the language through which not only the Indians can make their thoughts, aspirations and work be known to the Empire, but the language through which the forces of Empire are made known to India. It is, moreover, the language of the United States of America to which not a few modern Indians owe their enlightenment, scientific, social and political. It is, finally, a language which, with French, and, perhaps German, will remain a world-language, a language which those whose vernacular is not English will continue to learn as part of their general education just as the average Briton learns French, a language which if used and encouraged in India will open doors for India for the egress or ingress of ideas and facts when the vernaculars would isolate and obscure the people from all

save those drops in the ocean of culture who call themselves oriental scholars.

The place of English as the common language might well be questioned if it could be demonstrated that any Indian language could take its place as a common language. The last Census Report shows something like 150 distinct languages, over twenty of which were spoken by more than a million of people. The situation, therefore, is, as Risley mentions, far more complex than in the Austrian Dominions. The claims of Urdu or Hindi as a common language are frequently put forward. These languages, indeed, might serve for Northern India; even though Hindus and Mahomedans might fail to agree over the script; but it is not easy to see how the people of Bombay, Madras and Bengal would favour these, with their new scripts and alphabets, before the already common English. Each vernacular has its particular elements of beauty and strength, and each commands the loyalty of its own people. The value of English as the common language lies not in its inherent virtues as a language but in the fact that it is neutral. "It is perhaps conceivable," says Risley, "that one of the many dialects of Hindustani might in course of time become established as the vernacular of the whole of India, though the linguistic jealousies of Hindus and Mahomedans as to the script and vocabulary of the language will not readily be appeased." Sir Edward Gait, in the 1911 Census Report, complains that the language returns were vitiated by political bias in the Punjab and the United Provinces, where the Mahomedans claimed that Hindus spoke not Hindi but Urdu, leading to considerable confusion in the returns.

The Census returns, however, are plain enough on certain fundamental facts of language. It is inconceivable that the sixty-three million South Indians constituting one-fifth of the entire population, will abandon their

Dravidian speech for the Indo-Aryan languages of the north. Though a large proportion of these may know a little Hindi, their knowledge of Hindi is not as extensive as their knowledge of English. Nor, again, will the Bengalis readily sacrifice their language and literature to make Hindi a national language, when, along with Bengali, they can enjoy the benefits of English. The relation of English to any one Indian language, in short, is practically the same as the relations of the Indian languages to each other. From the point of view of any one language, both English and other Indian languages are "Foreign." Each vernacular appeals to the home loyalty and intimate feelings of its users. Nor do the classical languages offer any easier a solution. "The day is far distant," says Risley, "when the Ramayana of Tulsi Das will lose its hold over the peasantry of Upper India; and when the Hymns of Tukaram will cease to be household words in the Maratha country. Nor do the classical languages of India supply a bond of union which may form the basis of a common nationality. The tendencies of Sanskrit writing are hierarchical rather than national, while their contemplating and metaphysical tendencies are absolutely at variance with the actively militant spirit of the Arabic and Persian classics on which Indian Mahomedans are brought up. It is difficult to imagine any form of symbolical interpretation or intellectual compromise by which the quietest philosophy characteristic of the Hindu scripture could be reconciled with the fiery dogmatism of the Koran, or to conceive how two races looking back to such widely different literatures could be brought to regard them as the common heritage of one united nationality. We can only conclude therefore that in India, so far as can be at present foreseen, the development of the national idea is not likely to derive much support from popular speech on learned tradition."

It must be remembered, too, that in India the multiplication of vernaculars is to a certain extent artificial. In Calcutta University, for example, a student has to pass in a

vernacular in the matriculation examination. This has led to the recognition of the vernaculars of many primitive tribes, and as such recognition means examinations, and examinations need books, books must be written. Often these vernaculars when they apply for recognition have little literature save translations of the Bible, but as translations are easy and adoption of a book as a text is profitable, new literatures grow easily.

Sir Edward Gait, in both his Bengal and All-India Census Reports shows the natural tendency of many vernaculars to die out. He says : "In reviewing briefly the local extent of the different languages spoken in Bengal it has been repeatedly stated that a non-Aryan tribe has already abandoned or is gradually giving up its own native language. Occasionally it is replaced by another non-Aryan dialect, as in the case of the Oraons of some parts of Ranchi, who speak Mundari, or of the Kharias of Keonjhar, who speak Oraon, but more frequently it is an Aryan tongue which ousts it. Thus the Hindu refugees in Western Nepal carried with them their language which, after gradually supplanting the original Khas, is now steadily gaining fresh adherents at the expense of the various hill dialects current in Nepal. The Koches of Northern Bengal have completely forgotten their own dialect and know only Bengali. The Bhuiyas, even in Keonjhar, have no recollection of their tribal language, and the Bhuiyas have abandoned theirs, save only in the Chota Nagpur plateau and in Midnapore. The Chakmas have given up Arakanese and now use a mongrel dialect of Bengali, which they write in an old form of the Burmese character. The Maghs of Tippera and Noakali have forgotten their own language altogether and those of Chittagong are gradually following suit. In the Sonthal Parganas the Mal Paharias know only broken Bengali, and in Hazaribagh and Ranchi a kind of Magahi is spoken everywhere as a *lingua franca*, and is gradually ousting the tribal dialects even in the family circle."

What was true of Bengal, Sir Edward Gait ten years later, in his All-India Census Report, found true of India. In the last report on Bengal Mr. O'Malley questions these conclusions in certain particulars, but he agrees that where a higher culture has both come into contact with and influenced a lower, the language of the latter tends to disappear.

The reverse, that is, the absorption of an Indo-Aryan language never happens. Sir Edward points out the reason, namely, that they are the languages of a superior civilisation. The stronger indigenous tongues however, such as Tamil and Telugu, are not yielding to Indo-Aryan tongues. In Northern India, the Indo-Aryan tongues have made such rapid progress that Risley concluded that the disappearance of the non-Indo-Aryan dialect is only a matter of time.

The cause of the disappearance of languages in India presents an illuminating parallel in the case of English. The adoption of new languages is due to a variety of causes. Conquest, as in the case of parts of the Roman Empire, and in modern times Alsace- Lorraine, may result in the adoption or imposition of the language of the conquerors. More frequently a language disappears by a process of absorption, the result not of conquest but of friendly intercourse, particularly in the realms of commerce and higher ideas. Thus Greek at one time was the prevailing language in the non-Greek countries of Asia Minor and Egypt. In such an instance the language which has the greater virility or which is easier gradually supersedes the other, sometimes adopting apposite words or constructions from it. Utility is often the determining factor in the fate of a language. A language which is more widely understood is more useful, especially in the inter-linked modern world, for commerce, science and the ordinary purposes of communication. In small European nations children have to learn in schools the languages of all their stronger neighbours. Dutch children, for example, learn German, French and English. Non-written languages,

*again, tend to disappear before written languages and dialect before a standard language.*

These various processes have all operated in India. The Aryan conquerors of India imposed their language on the conquered peoples, and the adoption of the Aryan language by part of the people spread gradually to others. The unwritten languages of the conquered disappeared before the written Aryan language. The Aryans brought new ideas, new customs, new implements, which having no names in the indigenous language, were given their Aryan designations. The conquered, too, found it useful and profitable to know the language of their masters, a language which, moreover, was the means of expression for a higher type of civilisation and religion.

Sir Edward Gait gives a striking instance of how a language of a superior civilisation overcame the language of the conquerors. In the early days of the 13th century the Ahoms began their conquest of Assam. Little by little they subdued the whole province. All-powerful though they were, in less than four centuries we find them employing Hindus as diplomatic agents and using the Sanskrit language on their coins, etc. Later their kings embraced Hinduism and at the present day in Sanskrit scarcely a trace of the Ahom language is to be found.

The artificial preservation of languages, however laudable patriotically, does not conduce to the unity either of nations or of mankind. In a paper communicated to the First Universal Race Congress, Professor Margoliouth, though not holding a high opinion of language as a national bond, strongly deprecates the unnecessary multiplication of languages from the point of view of the future well-being of the world. Differences of language isolate peoples, and no language is worth preserving artificially either for patriotic or literary purposes. "Literary masterpieces," he says, "take care of themselves." Either man will learn a language for the masterpieces it contains or interpreters

*will do the work for them. To multiply languages is similar to changing railway gauges on a through route. "The advantage to Europe and mankind of a common language would be infinitely greater than any loss which could be sustained through the abandonment of a national language."* Just as in railway construction the principle of the expenditure of the least capital and energy should prevail, so in language, the gauges should be made to suit that of the country which has the greatest mileage and the largest amount of rolling stock.

English has not been imposed in India: it has been chosen. It is not the language of conquerors imposed on the conquered. Were it so the present high development of the vernaculars, with the active encouragement of the Government, would not exist. The claims of the English language lie in its own virility, and its utility for the manifold purposes in India. It will continue to exist along with the vernaculars, the combination of the two being emblematic of the triple allegiance which every Indian owns—loyalty to his province, the emblem of which is his vernacular, loyalty to India, the national "unity" being the English language, as it is also of the third loyalty, the British Empire. As a language it has a greater mileage and larger rolling stock than any Indian vernacular. Hindi or Urdu, the claims for which as national languages are most frequently heard are, relatively to the English language, only languages in the making. They have constantly to borrow from the west terms for which they have no way, or only a clumsy way of expressing. "English," as Mr. Coldstream wrote recently (*Journal of the East Indian Association*, July 1918), "is spreading enormously so that Urdu must start or has started late in the race." Indians must be bilingual, many of them multilingual before they are unilingual, but as Professor Margoliouth points out, "when once man has become more generally bilingual, when there is a recognised language for international and cosmopolitan communication of all kinds,

the way towards unification of language will at least have been indicated."

The reality of the English language as a real factor in the life of the Indian peoples must depend on new or improved methods in education. Many educationists, disgusted with the present position, would far prefer genuine education in the vernacular, were it possible, to the present *kacha* English education. The present results, however, may be prevented by the removal of the causes. Sir Herbert Risley in discussing this subject from the point of view of nationality, considered that with the dying off of the older non-English educated generation English would spread from the school and University into the family. In Madras and Bengal this is partly true and a similar process is observable in Northern India, where, however, vernacular education has a greater hold. Risley had great hopes of the direct method in teaching which, he said, might make Indian children use English as well as they do French in Chander-nagore and Pondicherry. Apart from this, however, everyone who has to do with teaching in Bengal knows the vast difference in boys who are educated in homes where the father or brothers are English educated from those in which English takes no part in the ordinary household language. At present there is a very marked tendency for merely the adoption of English words without the corresponding sentence structure. With intensified teaching the sentence structure might follow. Risley's example of "অংশনাৰ theatraclals বড় tedious হৰে," though it may not show the "right road to a real command of either language" is at least indicative of a tendency which, if it does not end in the adoption of the English language in its Dublin purity may lead to the creation of an Indian-English which may serve the purposes of national unity.

To judge from the present condition of English teaching in Bengal it is not surprising that there should be a growing antipathy to instruction through a foreign medium.

In the schools and colleges the students are taught English so imperfectly that they are driven to all sorts of uneducational contrivances in order to pass examinations, particularly to cram-books and the memorising of passages. English is not taught in such a way as to give a free flow to ideas. It is perfectly pathetic to see the average student mentally searching for nouns and conjugating verbs before he speaks or writes his ideas. A foreign language can be successful as a medium of instruction only when the translation process becomes unconscious. It is impossible, of course, entirely to supplant a vernacular by a foreign medium, but it should be far easier than it is for the average Bengali student to express what in themselves are foreign ideas in the language through which these ideas are conveyed. As English is at present taught and assimilated, ideas are literally throttled before they can be expressed. Entangled in the net of an ill-taught language, the student flounders among his ideas, giving them either a partial or wrong setting and is much surprised when his efforts are condemned. That facility with the language that does not dam the current of ideas is the attainment of only a few of our best students, and far from progress being evident, the unfortunate experience both of others and myself is, to put it in an Irish way; that progress is backward. Till English is better taught, therefore, a prejudice natural enough in itself will become more and more marked, and the absence of a vernacular universally acceptable as an all-Indian language will mean the growth of linguistic provincialism and separatism at the expense of Indian unity.

Still another point requires notice. In the new governmental system it will be obvious that for sake of Indian unity, the Government of India must preserve a proper balance between local and central in the matter of language. So many separatist elements exist in other directions that it would require only a very slight stimulus to break the existing bond of linguistic unity. A province like Bengal, for

example, with a dominant and strong vernacular, if left to itself in this matter, might easily claim the complete vernacularisation of education as a national right, relegating English to the place of a compulsory second language. Not only do the extracts which I have given from the speeches of prominent politicians, but also the general principles underlying the future position of India, make it imperative that the English language, instead of falling into a second-rate position, should continue as the Indian language, at least till such time as some vernacular can efficiently take its place.

The Montagu-Chelmsford Report in discussing the causes for a change of government pointedly remarks that "we have created an *intelligentsia*" which now requires new outlets for its political activity. The mind on which the new forms of government are to be based is essentially a product of western education through the medium of English. Western political and social ideas, coming to a country with vastly different traditions and institutions are now, naturally enough, to be followed by western political institutions. Whatever success may have attended these institutions in the west, it seems reasonably clear that their success in India will depend on the continuance of the type of mind which has caused them. This implies the continuance of the vehicle through which the lessons of the west have been taught. Whatever the development of the Indian vernaculars, very few, if any, of them can easily or adequately express ideas which are foreign to them, and even if they could, they would not form a united language for India. The Leagues, Congresses, Reports, Memorials, Speeches, Demands—all these are of a new India, educated in English ideas in the English language. One might very well doubt the existence of Legislative Councils, either provincial or imperial, the National Congress, and even the new great Charter itself had all the mind-force behind it, voiced in resolutions, demands, etc., been presented to the Government of India or the India Office in the vernaculars of the speakers or writers.

English has given positive conviction of unity where the vernaculars would have given as positive conviction of diversity.

Though the Montagu-Chelmsford Report rejects the name federal as indicating the government-to-be of India, nevertheless the result will be in the main a federal system. The essence of federalism is not that provinces or states surrender rights, but that both central and provincial governments should have certain powers definitely guaranteed by a definite constitution. Alexander Hamilton and Sir John Macdonald achieved in one way the federalisation of the United States and Canada ; the makers of modern Brazil and Mexico performed a similar task in another way. The form of government, not the *foedus* or pact, is the central essential of a federal system, whether that system be an evolution, as in the United States, or a devolution, as in Mexico. The 'innateness' of powers or delegation of powers is equally immaterial to federalism. What is material is the division of powers between central and local with definite constitutional guarantees. Such a division the Montagu-Chelmsford Report proposes to make, and it is a matter of more than ordinary importance in the matter of education and nationality. The federalism, or modified federalism, which is to exist will mean the granting of very considerable constitutional powers for the provinces. In a normal federal union, education is largely provincial. In the United States, for example, the general supervision of education lies with the Department of the Interior. The main function of this Department is the collection of information and statistics, circulated to the states to promote systematisation in education. The real onus of educational organisation lies with the State Superintendents of Education. In India, however, the analogy of the United States Government omits the vital fact that in the United States federalism was a natural evolution : in India very largely it is a superimposition, an *a priori* solution to racial, religious and

governmental problems. In the United States the fact of unity existed before the act of unity ; in India the act of unity exists before the fact of unity. In the Government of India, therefore, lies the fundamental duty of encouraging unity, and as the unity depends on a type of mind produced by western education imparted through the English language, the Government of India must keep to itself a large amount of legislative control in education, the pivot of the new democracy. In this matter it would be fatal to allow the provinces rope enough to strangle the central government. In the first flush of newly-found power, which, as the report has decided, is to be provincial, the natural result will be intense interest in provincial affairs or provincial nationalism. From intense provincialism to separatism is not a difficult step. Particularly easy would it be in the case of language where a most natural issue of the new national feeling would be the intensification of the already existing feeling in favour of the complete recognition of "national" languages as the medium of teaching in all grades.

The apparently disproportionate space devoted to the discussion of the element of language will find its justification later when I speak of the constructive side of Indian nationality. Language, as I hope to show, will not only help to make a united India, but a united India in a United British Empire. Everyone is familiar with Strachey's paradox that the first thing to know about India is that there is no India. In his elaborate analogy of society and the organism Herbert Spencer found in language the connecting link in human society equivalent to the "nerve sensorium" or head in the human body. In India ideas and institutions, as Spencer might have said, tend to be "discrete," to be units without unity. In a common language, and all that a language means, will be found at least one element of Indian unity, and, if that language be English, an element in the wider unity of the Empire and mankind.

## CHAITANYA AND THE VAISNAVAS OF BENGAL.

BY A. C. UNDERWOOD.

TEN years ago it would have been difficult to give anything like an adequate account of Chaitanya and the religious revival which he originated in Bengal about the time when in Europe Luther was thundering against the Pope. The Rev. Lalbehary Day, himself a converted Vaisnava, had written an informing essay on the sect in the *Calcutta Review* for 1851 and Beames had treated the same subject in the *Indian Antiquary* for 1873. But neither of these essays seems to have received the attention it deserved, with the result that most writers on Chaitanya were content to give a réchauffé of Wilson's remarks in his *Sketch of the Religious Sects of the Hindus*. In 1907 appeared the second edition of *The Lord Gauranga* by that fervid Vaisnava Shishir Kumar Ghose. The work purported to be a biography of Chaitanya, but for historical and scientific purposes it was almost useless, and it is difficult to say which is the more striking, its appalling prolixity or its entire lack of historical sense. But the situation has greatly changed since Rai Sahib Dinesh Chandra Sen began to publish his patient and scholarly researches into the history of the Bengali Literature. In 1911 appeared his *History of the Bengali Language and Literature*. The worth of his painstaking labours was immediately recognised in the West by such well-known Orientalists as Barth Senart, Rhys Davids, Grierson, Barnett, Kern and Oldenberg. The publication of this book did much to set in a clearer light the importance of a thorough acquaintance with the vernacular literature of India for any true appreciation of her religious life. Indispensable as a knowledge of Sanscrit is to the student of India's religions, a knowledge of the

vernacular religious poetry will bring him nearer the heart of the greater part of India's toiling millions. With a few notable exceptions Sanscrit has been cultivated by Orientalist scholars to the neglect of the vernaculars. For this very reason we have had to wait long for authoritative interpretations of those religious movements whose writings are mainly in the vernacular. This explains, too, why that veteran scholar and Sanscritist, Sir R. G. Bhandakar, when writing of Chaitanya in his volume in the *Grundriss*, loses his mastery of detail and his sureness of touch as soon as the Sanscrit sources fail him.

It is generally admitted that one of the most valuable chapters in Mr. Sen's History is the lengthy one in which he treats of the Vaisnava Literature of Bengal. He has returned to this subject in his *Vaisnava Literature of Mediæval Bengal* and in his *Chaitanya and His Companions*, both published in 1917, while in his *Banga Sahitya Parichaya* (1914) will be found the Bengali text of many Vaisnava lyrics and extracts from their historical works. Though the Rai Sahib is not himself a Vaisnava, he brings to the interpretation of the Vaisnava literature of his country a fine enthusiasm and a sympathetic imagination. At the same time his imagination and sympathy are controlled by his historical sense, though not all of Mr. Sen's historical judgments would commend themselves to everyone. One thing, however, is clear. We have now at our disposal a wealth of material in an accessible form for the interpretation of the Chaitanyite revival such as we have never had before. Before the publication of Mr. Sen's work the only way of getting anything like an adequate impression of the Vaisnava saint was by reading some of those prolix biographies written in old Bengali, such as the *Chaitanya Charitamrita* and the *Chaitanya Bhagabat*—a task from which most foreigners naturally shrank.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In 1913 Professor Jadunath Sarkar published an English Translation of the middle section of the *Chaitanya Charitamrita*.

Chaitanya was born in 1485, two years after Luther, in Navadip, a town situated on the bank of the sacred Bhagirathi, about seventy miles north of Calcutta. His father, whose name was Jagannath Misra, came originally from Sylhet, but his mother, Sachi Debi, was the daughter of a local pundit. At that time Navadip was a great centre of Hindu learning. Its *tol*s were famed all over Hindusthan and they still retain something of their ancient glory. Jagannath Misra and his wife were pious Vaisnavas. They had two sons, Vishwarup and Vishambhar. It was the latter who afterwards came to be called Chaitanya. His pet name was Nimai. When he was six years old his brother, who was then sixteen, became a sannyasi to the great grief of his parents, who were at that time arranging his marriage. Vishwarup's going out into the "homeless life" doubtless made a deep impression on the family life and must have had its effect on Nimai, young though he was. As a boy he was high-spirited and many were the pranks he is said to have played upon his neighbours. In recording these boyish tricks Vaisnava piety has delighted to make him imitate similar tricks played by the youthful Krisna. He went to school later than most boys in Navadip, but once his education had begun he showed great aptitude for learning, especially in Sanscrit grammar and, if the *Chaitanya Bhagabat* is to be believed, in the Nyaya system of logic, for which the city of his birth was famous. About the age of twenty he set up a *tol* for himself and drew a number of pupils. At this time he was a scoffer at religion, and the Vaisnavas especially were the butt of his pleasantries. Temperamentally he seems to have been high-spirited, boastful, aggressive, flippant. He lost his first wife soon after their marriage. She died of a snake bite while he was away on a tour in East Bengal. Shortly after his return he yielded to his mother's entreaties and married again. His second wife was Vishnupriya, a daughter of Sanatan, a famous scholar of Navadip.

The death of his father seems to have made a deep impression upon Chaitanya. He was restless and wanted to go to Gaya to offer there the *pindas* for the repose of his father's soul. His mother feared to let him make the journey but could not find it in her heart to refuse his frequently proffered request. Arrived at Gaya he entered the temple and heard the *pandas* singing the praises and virtues of Vishnu's footprint. The *Chaitanya Bhagabat* tells us that at the sight of the footprint the Master fell into a swoon, floods of tears flowed from his eyes and he began his manifestations of *prem* and *bhakti*. While at Gaya he met with Iswarpuri, a famous Vaisnava sannyasi of the Madhava-charya order, who initiated him into the sect and became his spiritual guide. It is difficult to resist the conclusion that the spiritual experience through which Chaitanya passed at Gaya was his conversion. In all probability it was not a sudden but a gradual process. There had been a growth of "conviction" ever since his father's death, which had had a sobering influence upon him. His restless desire to visit Gaya points in the same direction. Nothing, however, is clearer than that he came back from Gaya a changed man. He was now "God intoxicated." He wept and cried, chanted Krisna's name for hours together until he became delirious with *bhakti*, and frequently he ended by falling into a swoon. Often he imagined himself to be Radha overcome with longing for her beloved Krisna. The change wrought in him by what we prefer to call his conversion was so deep that he found it impossible to resume his old habits and pursuits. His daily calling as the head of a *tol* had to be given up, for instead of teaching his pupils he indulged in reveries about Krisna, of whom and the *gopis* in Brindaban he was ever talking. The fruits of his conversion further showed themselves in a new and remarkable humility and in acts of lowly service, which were in striking contrast with his old arrogant manner, and which are frequently the marks, so psychologists tell us, of the

converted man. This once proud Brahmin carried burdens for old and sickly people, wrung the water out of the wet clothes of the bathers on the river bank, and performed other menial acts. Time and time again he tried to explain to others the visions he had seen at Gaya, but the effort was too much for him, and he fell into a swoon. Gradually others devoted to the *bhakti* doctrine joined him and whole nights and days were spent in singing together and in chanting Krisna's name. About this time he won his three chief disciples, the sannyasi Nityananda, the elderly scholar Awaitacharyya and the Moslem convert Haridas. All three seem to have been pious souls, who, when the revival of religion came, responded gladly. Navadip was soon ablaze with excitement. Many converts were made to the doctrine of *bhakti* to Krisna, but many more remained hostile. Never before had the city of learning been so deeply moved. About this time occurred the conversion of Jagai and Madhai. The story of the conversion of these two dissolute ruffians has captured the imagination of Bengal. They were nominally Brahmins by caste and were employed as police officers under the Moslem governor of Navadip. They were notorious for their evil lives, given to wine and other debaucheries and frequently maltreating the citizens. One day when Navadip was all astir with repeated *sankirtans* Chaitanya and Nityananda were passing along the street and Madhai threw a broken piece of an earthen pot which struck Nityananda on the head, causing the blood to flow from the wound. But the mild Vaisnava only said, "Strike me again, if you like, but sing the name of Krisna." The two ruffians were so impressed that immediately they professed repentance, and from that hour became changed men, manifesting the fruits of repentance.<sup>2</sup>

The conversion of these two ruffians gave great impetus to the new movement, which was never without its bitter

<sup>2</sup> The story is told, not without embellishments, in the *Chaitanya Bhagabat* and the *Chaitanya Mangal*.

enemies. Chaitanya's opponents complained to the governor of the city that the night-long *sankirtans* disturbed their sleep and that the Vaisnavas were making the night hideous with their cries, but the Vaisnavas organised a huge *nagarkirtan* and visited the governor, who, if the Chaitanyite books are to be believed, was entirely subdued by the majestic appearance of the Master and compelled to take upon his lips the name of Hari.

But the opposition which Chaitanya had to encounter from the intellectuals of the town seems to have convinced him that he would never be able to carry conviction to the hearts of the multitude until he had abandoned all earthly possessions and become a sannyasi for the sake of his gospel. According to Govinda Das he thus expressed his intention.

I shall have my head shaven, cast off the sacred thread, and wander as a sannyasin from house to house, preaching the love of Krisna. Young men, children, old men, worldly men, and even the pariahs will stand around me charmed with the name of God. The very boys and girls will cry, "O Krisna!" The infidels and Agorapanthis will be drawn by the charm of Krisna's name. The flag of his name will wave on high piercing the very skies. Kings and poor men alike will feel the irresistible charm of his name. If I do not renounce my home, how can sinners be saved? My heart feels deep pangs for the sinners of the world, and for those who are stung by the world's woes.<sup>3</sup>

The God intoxicated mystic saw Krisna in everything. The blue sky above reminded him of Krisna's complexion, the singing of the birds of his lute, every shady bower of the groves of Brindaban, where the Lord had sported with the *gopis*, and once he ran to embrace a *tamala* tree whose dark green foliage had produced in him an illusion of Krisna.

In 1509 Chaitanya finally decided, in spite of the entreaties of his young wife and of his mother, who was

<sup>3</sup> *The Kadcha of Govinda Das.* Translation from Sen's H.B.L.L., 450f.

now sixty-seven, to become a sannyasi. He was initiated by Keshab Bharati and took the name of Krisna Chaitanya, and left his native town to make known the love of God throughout India. He proceeded to Orissa and stayed three months in Puri in constant adoration and worship of Jagannath, in whose temple he had many a trance. The next two years were spent in wandering through Southern India proclaiming the name of "his sweet Lord." He moved from shrine to shrine followed by crowds of enraptured devotees. Both at Puri and on the journey through the South many converts were made. In 1511 he was back in Puri from which place he journeyed to Brindaban, visiting his native town on his way thither. After six years in Brindaban he returned to Puri, where he lived for seventeen or eighteen years, dying about 1534. The kindly feelings of his biographers have cast a halo of mystery about his death. The most probable story is that in one of his fits of ecstasy he thought he saw on the waves of the blue sea his beloved Krisna sporting with the *gopis*. He entered the water and was drowned in a frantic attempt to reach his Lord.<sup>4</sup>

One thing abundantly clear from the records of Chaitanya's life is that the movement he set on foot was a genuine religious revival. The new teaching was able to win moral and spiritual victories. It had power to redeem and save the lowliest and the lost. Chaitanya attracted not only the religiously-minded but the sinful and the base. While he lived hundreds were reclaimed from lives of sin to lives of devotion to Krisna. His converts were drawn from all classes and ranks of society. They included among their number kings like Rudrapati, courtesans like Varamukhi, savants like Prakashananda, and Vasudev Sarbabhauma, a Brahmin turned dacoit like Naroji, a man of the blacksmith caste like Govinda Das, officials like Rup and Sanatan, ruffians like Jagai and Madhai, sons of wealthy landowners like Ragunath Das,

<sup>4</sup> See Sen's H.B.L.L., 473, for another and entirely different version of his death.

the son of a raja like Narottama Datta, who as he stood on the bank of the mighty Padma River saw the vision *splendid calling him to the higher life*. Chaitanya came at a time when Buddhism was a spent force in Bengal and the spiritual life of the people at a very low ebb. But loving God, as he undoubtedly did, with all the ardour of a passionate and imaginative soul he was able to fill with blessedness and joy the lives of many in whom the spring's of the soul's devotion were well-nigh dried up, and to whom God seemed very far away. His movement displaced the horrors of Tantricism and many of the gross superstitions of the Mahayana Buddhism of the time with a deep ecstatic joy. It replaced not a little mechanical religious ceremonialism with loving devotion to a personal deity, while at Chaitanya's bidding even the intellectuals turned aside from the path of knowledge to find in *bhakti* the way to fellowship with God. It set in motion forces that have by no means spent themselves to-day.

Many of the converts which the movement produced show the characteristic altruism of converted men. On his tour through the South Chaitanya did what very few men could do. He embraced a leper whose flesh was rotting away, though we need not believe the story that the embrace cured him of the disease. Vasudev Datta, one of his disciples, once prayed a prayer very akin to that once uttered by the Apostle Paul. "My heart breaks," he said, "to see the sorrows of mankind. Lay thou the sins of the rest of mankind on my head; let me suffer in hell under the load of their sins, so that, Master, thou mayest remove the earthly pangs of all other beings." We are not surprised to read that when the Master heard these words he wept. Another striking instance of Vaisnava altruism was its care for the despised *bhikkus* and *bhikkunis* of the decadent Buddhism of the time. Hindu society would have nothing whatever to do with

them and treated them as outcastes. They had sunk into depths of depravity which caused them to be despised by all. But the apostles of Chaitanya, disregarding caste *distinctions*, did their best to reclaim the fallen and the lost. A Bengali Vaisnava work, *Nityananda Vamasa-Vistara*, tells how thousands of these men and women were received into the Vaisnava fold by Virachandra, the son of Nityananda.<sup>6</sup>

A very characteristic grace of the converted Vaisnava was his humility. This is seen in the vivid contrast between Chaitanya's arrogant pride and his new-found humility after the religious experience he underwent at Gaya. It is seen in the Vaisnava's refusal to preach. "To preach," says Shishir Kumar Ghose, "is to arrogate superiority." Chaitanya's followers were commanded "to chant the name of the Lord, becoming as humble as grass, as patient as a tree." More than once we read in the *Chaitanya Charitamrita* of Vaisnava's taking two blades of grass between their teeth as a sign of their humility. Nor it is altogether fanciful to see their humility in the Vaisnava denial of caste. One of Chaitanya's commands to his disciples was, "Teach the lesson of faith in Krisna to all men, down to the Chandals." That moral fruits were expected to follow conversions the following quotation will show.

The following qualities mark a Vaishnava . . . . . he is compassionate, spiteless, essentially true, saintly, innocent, charitable, gentle, pure, humble, a universal benefactor, tranquil, solely dependent on Krisna, free from desire, quiet, equable, a victor over the six passions, temperate in diet, self-controlled, honouring others and yet not proud himself, grave, tender, friendly, learned, skilful and silent.<sup>7</sup>

. The methods by which Chaitanya won his successes are of great interest to the student of the psychology of religion.

<sup>6</sup> See Sen's *Vaisnava Lit. of Med. Bengal*, 163 ff.

*Chaitanya Charitamrita*, Madhya Khanda. Sarkar's Trans., 281.

It seems certain that he won men by a tempest of emotion and devotional praise. His methods were those of the revivalist, though preaching, as we have seen, was not one of the methods used for spreading the new faith. The *sankirtan* was the all-powerful instrument. The *sankirtan* is enthusiastic singing and dancing in chorus. As this *Review* circulates in Great Britain and America it may be well to describe the *sankirtan* in some detail. We quote here a description of a *sankirtan* from the *Chaitanya Charitamrita*.

At dusk the Acharya began a *sankirtan*; he danced, while the Master gazed on. Gosawami Nityananda danced hand in hand with the Acharya, and Haridas behind them. This song accompanied their dance:—

“How shall I speak of my bliss to-day?  
The Beloved (Krisna) has entered my temple for ever.”

With perspiration, thrills, tears of joy, shout and roar, they turned and turned, touching the Master's feet now and then. The Acharya embraced him and said, “Long did you wander after escaping from me. Now that I have got you in my house I shall hold you fast.” So the Acharya continued dancing and singing for three hours after nightfall.

It was a frequent thing during this enthusiastic singing in chorus for the singers to exhibit many external signs of deep emotion. Some would swoon away in rapture and roll on the ground; others would embrace one another and laugh and cry alternatively. The sky was made to resound with shouts of “*Hari, Haribole!*” Then as the tide of feeling rose higher and higher, one man after another would feel a deep emotion, and by that mysterious law of sympathy it would be communicated to others, till at last in the contagion of their joy and rapture the singers would imagine that Krisna himself was with them and all would become “immersed in a sea of divine *bhakti*.” Mr. Sen says, “I have seen *kirtaniyas* creating a wild scene of emotions among the audiences by the irresistible appeal of these

\* *Ibid.* 4. See also p. 130 for a description of a great *sankirtan* held at Puri.

*songs ; not an eye that did not shed tears, not a heart that did not feel throbs of pain and joy alternatively at the references to the divine cruelty and the divine love.”*<sup>9</sup>

It was by methods such as these that Chaitanya won his success, and it scarcely needs to be pointed out that his methods fitted perfectly the emotionalism of the Bengali race. Bengal and Orissa provided exactly the right kind of psychological climate for the methods he adopted. This appeal to the feelings through the music and excitement of the *sankirtan* finds an interesting parallel in the methods of some Christian revivalists. Enthusiastic singing in chorus is generally one of the means on which they rely for creating an atmosphere in which their preaching and fervid appeals will produce the greatest effect. One has only to mention such combinations of preachers and singers

Moody and Sankey, Torrey and Alexander, and the like. The leaders of the Salvation Army know full well the value of such methods, and without redundancy the parallel between them and the Bengal Vaisnavas may be indicated. The hymns which the Salvationists sing with such fervour have their parallel in the lyrics of Vidyapati and Chandidas ; their characteristic

“ ‘ ons in the Vaisnava’s “ *Hari!* ” “ *Haribole!* ”

“ ‘ he drum, and in place of the tambourine the Vaisnavas have the cymbals, and if the Salvationists are quite certain of the presence of Christ in their midst, the Vaisnavas seen not a whit less certain of the presence of Krisna.

After the death of its founder the Chaitanyite movement gave birth to a great amount of literary and other activity. The ancient shrine of Brindaban, which had been allowed to fall into ruin and decay, was restored and its ancient glories revived. Many lives of the Master were produced and a large number of Vaisnava lyrics. Nor can it be said that the influence of the Vaisnava writers is

<sup>9</sup> *Vaisnava Lit. of Med. Bengal*, 196.

*a spent force to-day.* It can be traced in the poetry of *Rabindranath Tagore*. *Keshab Chandra Sen* introduced the enthusiastic *Vaisnava* methods into the *Brahma Samaj* after his split with *Debendra Nath Tagore*, and one of the greatest revivals the *Brahma Samaj* has ever experienced (that at Monghyr in 1868)—followed almost immediately upon the adoption of the new enthusiastic methods—methods which the older members of the *Samaj* viewed with much suspicion. But the sect which *Chaitanya* founded is to-day in decline. Long ago it passed the zenith of its power. Its effort to root out the caste system and to establish within Hinduism the doctrine of human brotherhood has proved a failure. It is true that efforts are being made to-day by the few earnest-minded men who are the leaders of the *Chaitanya Tattwa Pracharini Sabha* to revive the teaching of the saint of *Navadip*, but the bulk of the *Vaisnavas* of Bengal to-day seem to belong to the lower grades of society. Bengal seems intensely proud of her son *Chaitanya* and of her *Vaisnava* literature but a little ashamed of her modern *Vaisnavas*, especially the male and female mendicants of the sect. A Hindu like Dr. *Jogendra Nath Bhattacharyya*, President of the College of Pundits at *Navadip*, says in his *Hindu Castes and Sects*: “The *Chaitanyite* nuns are recruited from the superannuated unfortunates of the towns. The order is joined also by the unchaste widows of the lower classes.” He speaks of the mendicants as “most notorious for their profligacy.”<sup>10</sup> These are strong words, and one wonders whether the learned doctor weighed carefully every word before he set it down, or whether he is a descendant of those intellectuals who so fiercely opposed *Chaitanya*’s teaching of salvation by loving devotion to a personal deity. But Dr. *Bhattacharyya*’s words are borne out by the Rev. *Lalbehary Day*, who, in the article mentioned above, says the *Vaisnava* mendicants “are justly reckoned by the mass of the Hindu population as monsters of iniquity and the

<sup>10</sup> 465, 467.

pests of society." So far as I know, Rai Sahib Dinesh *Chandra Sen* has said nothing about modern *Vaisnavism in Bengal*. He is content faithfully to interpret the past to us. His is the historian's part. He leaves us to face for ourselves the undeniable problem as to how a movement which began as a true religious revival, and which had in it great possibilities, has degenerated to its present position. One writes as an outsider, but as one who has done his best to frame a sympathetic estimate of the Chaitanyite movement. One's own belief is that the failure of the movement to hold its own as a religious force is due, in the main, to two causes. Briefly put they are these. First, certain defects inherent in Chaitanya's methods made it impossible to secure any real degree of permanence. Second, Radha and Krisna are not entirely worthy objects of the soul's devotion. These two points are worth further investigation.

Chaitanya often carried his emotional methods to an excess which amounted to sheer folly.<sup>11</sup> These excesses showed themselves in rolling on the ground in transports of devotion till the body was grey with dust, swooning away in ecstatic devotion, wild outbursts of hysterical laughter, piercing screams, paroxysms of grief, nights of weeping, dancing, thrills and sweats. All these phenomena are, of course, well known to the student of religious psychology. At a revival in 1800 at Red River, Ohio, many dropped to the ground cold and still, or with convulsive twitches of face and limbs. Others leaped and bounded about like live fish out of the water. Others rolled over and over on the ground for hours. As the excitement increased it grew more morbid and took the form of "jerking," or in others it became the "barking exercise," and in yet others it became the "holy laugh." The jerks began with the head, which was thrown violently from side to side so rapidly that the features were blurred and the hair almost seemed to snap, and when the sufferer struck an obstacle and fell, he would

<sup>11</sup> See *The Lord Gauranga*, 2-41 *Chaitanya Charitamrita*. Sarker's Trans., 161.

bounce about like a ball. Men fancied themselves dogs and gathered about a tree barking and yelping—"treeing the devil."<sup>12</sup> To deny that the Chaitanyite movement was a genuine religious revival because of these manifestations, would be as reasonable as to deny the worth of the Wesleyan Revival in which similar manifestations occurred, as a reference to Wesley's Journal for the year 1739 will show. The entry for 15th June of that year may be quoted as typical.

In the evening I went to a society at Wapping, weary in body and faint in spirit. . . . While I was earnestly inviting all sinners to "enter into the holies" by this "new and living way," many of those that heard began to call on God with strong cries and tears. Some sunk down, and there remained no strength in them; others exceedingly trembled and quaked; some were torn with a kind of convulsive motion in every part of their bodies, and that so violently that often four or five persons could not hold one of them. I have seen many hysterical and many epileptic fits; but none of them were like these, in many respects. I immediately prayed that God would not suffer those who were weak to be offended. But one woman was offended greatly, being sure they might help it if they would —no one could persuade her to the contrary; and was got three yards when she also dropped down, in as violent an agony as the rest.

The fact is that such phenomena are common features of religious revival in all lands. We sometimes forget that early Christianity shows many of the characteristic marks of a revival, and that Paul in some churches managed only with difficulty to keep within proper bounds the exercise of some of the charismatic gifts. But when all possible allowances have been made, it is difficult to acquit Chaitanya of the charge of being lacking in sanity and poise. Paul "spoke with tongues" more than any man, but his sanity and poise are nowhere more clearly seen than in his first letter to the Corinthians, where he discusses the place and

<sup>12</sup> Hall's *The Psychology of Adolescence*, 2-286f; see William James' *Varieties of Religious Experience*, *passim*, for other similar instances.

limits of the exercise of the *glossolalia*. There is also a world of difference between the excitable Chaitanya and Wesley, who rarely, if ever, lost his head. The dangers of a non-ethical emotionalism in religion are always real, and more than once they have been manifested in the history of Christianity. Chaitanya was content to begin and end with a tempest of emotion, and this is one reason why the movement he originated had no moral religious staying power.

We turn now to the second reason of Chaitanya's failure. It is not easy to understand his exact position with reference to the Radha-Krisna cult. Briefly it seems to have been this. The highest form of worship is for the worshipper to approach Krisna with the ardent love felt by a woman who is infatuated by one who is not her husband. The love felt by the wedded wife for her husband will not suffice as an emblem of the devotee's love for Krisna, for such love is alloyed with the dross of self-interest. Her fidelity is motived by the applause she wins from society and from her relatives, and by the promise of reward in the next world. The supreme instance of this self-abandoning, self-sacrificing, love is the love of Radha for Krisna. Such love far transcends the love of a servant for his master, a friend for his friend, a parent for his child, a wife for her wedded husband.<sup>13</sup> The best way for the worshipper to cultivate this supreme love is to meditate on the loves of Radha and Krisna. To the western mind this will seem strange thinking and it is important to notice what Chaitanya did not teach. He did not teach, as did the Sahajias and Chandidas before him, that salvation was to be found through the worship of young and beautiful damsels. In place of human love he "preached the love of God and adopted the phraseology of human love merely as a symbol, to denote the mystic yearning of the soul for God."<sup>14</sup> Govinda Das quotes him

<sup>13</sup> *Chaitanya Charitamrita*, Madhya Khanda. Sarkar's Trans., 62 ff.

<sup>14</sup> Sen. *Banga Sahitya Parichaya*, 1-42.

as saying, "As the young man yearns for his beloved, even so the soul yearns for God; it is for want of a better object of comparison that the Vaisnavas worship the Lord under this form."<sup>15</sup> Relatively Chaitanya improved greatly upon the position of the Sahajia cult and the teaching of Chandidas. While he lived he kept a strict watch on his followers and his wrath blazed forth at once when any of them showed the least inclination to romantic love. Witness his treatment of Chhota Haridas.<sup>16</sup> Nevertheless when his restraining hand was removed the unclean myth bore its inevitable fruit in the Vaisnavism of Bengal. To quote once more Dr. Jogendra Nath Bhattacharyya, "The veriest tyro ought to be able to foresee what the fruits of a tree must be that owes its existence to seeds supplied by the Bhagvat and the Brahma Vaivarta."<sup>17</sup>

But most Hindus to-day, whether Vaisnavas or not, will fiercely resent the suggestion that there was anything morally wrong in Krisna's amours with his mistress Radha. They spiritualise the Radha-Krisna stories and find in them an allegory of the relations between God and the soul. When Krisna deserts Brindaban and leaves his mistress suffering the pangs of separation it is a picture of the "dark night of the soul" left desolate by God. In a similar way the sensuous language of the erotic lyrics of Vidyapati and Chandidas are spiritualised and thus made the vehicle of genuine religious emotion.<sup>18</sup> If any of his western readers find it difficult to realise how these stories and lyrics, even when mystically interpreted, can nourish a deep spiritual life and promote a high degree of spiritual attainment, Mr. Sen reminds them that there is not a little erotic sentiment in the great mystics of the Christian Church. The latter spiritualised the glowing language of the *Song of Songs*, as the pious Vaisnava does his Radha-Krisna songs. Mr. Sen

<sup>15</sup> Sen., H.B.I L., 536.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 439.

<sup>17</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 463.

<sup>18</sup> For a moving instance of such spiritualising see Sen H.B.L.L., 127 H.

is quite right in pointing out this resemblance, but it should not blind us to the fact that the differences between the *Christian and Vaisnava mystics are greater than their resemblances*. Some of the great *Christian mystics of the West* fed their souls on the sensuous language of the *Song of Songs* to a degree undreamt of by the average Christian of the West to-day. Roman Catholic "contemplatives" like St. Juan of the Cross, Gertrude of Eisleben, Angela of Foligno and St. Teresa used the language of the *Song of Songs* to express their idea of the "spiritual marriage" between Christ and the individual soul. In fact, a study of these mystics is of real service in enabling one to appreciate the *Vaisnava* point of view. But after all these men and women are few and their teaching has not been universally received, while in the West to-day the use of such erotic language to describe the relation of Christ to the soul would be regarded as an offence against good taste. As a matter of fact its use in Christianity has been confined to these few Catholic contemplatives. The Bride referred to in the *Song of Songs* has always been interpreted in Protestantism as the Church and not the individual soul, as by these few Catholic contemplatives. Hence among Protestant mystics there has never been the same amount of erotic sentiment. The plain fact of the matter is that the *Song of Songs* is scarcely ever read to-day by the average Western Christian. It is not a Christian but a Jewish book. It is bound up in the Bible because the Christian Church accepted the Jewish Canon of the Old Testament Scriptures. It was not admitted into the Jewish Canon without controversy. Modern scholarship no longer finds in the *Song* any allegorical meaning. It says nothing whatever of Christ. It is simply a collection of songs dealing with human love, interesting as literature, valuable to the student of anthropology, but of no religious value. The fact that a Jewish Synod blundered is no reason why Christian scholarship and commonsense should perpetuate the

*blunder, and continue to insist that book, because canonical, must possess a religious value.*

Most psychologists would regard the outbreak of erotic sentiment among these few Catholic mystics as one of those revenges which outraged nature so often takes. Living, as these men and women did, an unnatural life, it was to be expected that the mind, in which the religious and the sexual are linked together in such mysterious relationship, would give vent to these unnatural manifestations. These cases may be regarded as pathological not normal. But what is pathological in Christianity becomes normal in the Vaisnavism of Bengal. Again, while the love which the Vaisnava is bidden to contemplate is illicit, the love of the *Song of Songs* is not. Nor does that book occupy in Christian literature anything like the place which the Radha-Krisna stories occupy in Vaisnavism. They were meat and drink to the soul of Chaitanya, but the *Song of Songs* is never once quoted in the writings of the New Testament. Nor do the great mystics of the New Testament make any great use of the figure of the bride. The author of the Fourth Gospel uses it not at all. Paul uses it very sparingly and speaks of the Church, not the individual soul, as the bride of Christ.

The history of the allegorical method of interpretation is not without interest in this present connection. The Greeks used it to surmount the difficulties, moral and religious, which the Homeric poems raised. Both Jews and Christians have used it to overcome similar difficulties in connection with the Old Testament. In certain ages it served a very useful purpose and doubtless its exponents were as proud of it in their day as we are in ours of our critical-historical methods. Before the idea of the progressiveness of revelation dawned upon the minds of men, it was, perhaps, the best apologetic method available. In connection with the Old Testament, modern literary and historical criticism has brought into prominence the idea of a

gradual and progressive revelation. May we venture to hope that *Hindu scholarship at no far distant date will abandon the methods of allegorism for those of literary and historical criticism*, and place the Radha-Krisna stories in their true setting, as Christian scholarship has placed the *Song of Songs*?

To resume, then, the criticism remains untouched that Krisna is not, and cannot be, an embodiment of the moral ideal of the race, in spite of all that allegorising apologists have said. In the majority of men the psychological effect of contemplating the amours of Radha and Krisna cannot be other than detrimental to the moral imagination. The devotion to Krisna that Chaitanya was able to evoke in the hearts of men was often magnificent—sometimes, amazingly so. But the truth is that devotion (*bhakti*), however sincere and passionate, has in itself no moral value. It may be directed to an evil power as well as to a good. Everything depends upon the person to whom the devotion is directed. It is not the amount of devotion that matters, but the quality and dignity of it. While Chaitanya lived this devotion showed itself in renewed and transformed lives for it was “the expulsive power of a new affection.” As soon as his restraining hand was removed the erotic lyrics in many cases produced their natural fruit, and theology was in danger of degenerating into pornography. *Bhakti* is in many respects akin to the Christian idea of faith. Christianity agrees with the *Bhakti* Movement in asserting that religion must include the emotions. Both believe profoundly in “the expulsive power of a new affection.” But whereas in Vaisnavism *bhakti* is but imperfectly moralised, in Christianity it is made ethical through and through, for the soul’s devotion is directed towards Christ, and he is the guarantee of the kind of conduct and character which loving devotion to Him will produce.

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*Serampore.*

## **AN ANGLO-INDIAN ROMANCE**

*involving Thomas Carlyle, a Scottish Philosopher; James Achilles Kirkpatrick, Resident at the Court of the Nizam of Hyderabad; and the Marquis of Wellesley, Governor-General of India.*

BY T. O. D. DUNN.

**N**O more unlikely source of information on the romantic side of Anglo-Indian life can be imagined than the letters of Thomas Carlyle. Chance alone brought the Scottish philosopher into touch with one of the most interesting episodes in the history of Anglo-India. Early in his career Carlyle had acted as tutor to the sons of Charles Buller, a retired Bengal Civilian, whose wife, Isabella, in her youth the belle of Calcutta and the theme of Leyden's admiring verse, was the daughter of Colonel William Kirkpatrick, military secretary to the Marquis of Wellesley. This lady with her sister, the wife of Edward Strachey, had been attracted, along with the rest of fashionable London, by the eloquence of Edward Irving, the Scottish preacher and the friend of Carlyle. The latter, through the recommendation of Irving, had secured a comfortable tutorship in the Buller family; and so found himself the privileged member of a household in which he was likely to hear much of India, and to meet not a few people of distinction. His love of letter writing and his accuracy of portraiture have preserved for us the memory of Catherine Aurora Kirkpatrick, the cousin of Mrs. Buller, and the daughter of Colonel James Achilles Kirkpatrick by his wife Khair-un-Nissa Begum.

Carlyle first met this lady in 1824 when she was about twenty-one years of age; and that she compelled his admiration there is ample evidence in his letters. It will

be convenient to begin by a study of her portrait as drawn in these letters ; and, in this way, tell the Kirkpatrick story backwards. Miss Catherine's appearance in the Strachey *family where Carlyle was a welcome guest after the Buller boys had gone to Cambridge, is pleasingly described in a letter of 1824 addressed to Jane Welsh* : " This Kitty is a singular and pleasing creature ; a little black-eyed, auburn-haired brunette, full of kindness and humour and who never was angry at any creature for a moment in her life. Though twenty-one and not unbeautiful, and sole mistress of herself and fifty thousand pounds, she is meek and modest as a Quakeress." Of the attractions of a second lady, this is a curiously intimate description to be written by a lover to the woman of his choice ; and Jane Welsh was not slow to accept the challenge, if such it were. But let us observe the portrait more closely. Later in his reminiscences Carlyle went into greater detail, and has given us a full-length picture: " A strangely complexioned young lady with soft brown eyes and floods of bronze-red hair, really a pretty looking, smiling and amiable, though most foreign, bit of magnificence and kindly splendour, welcomed by the name of Dear Kitty. Amiable, affectionate, graceful, might be called attractive ( not slim enough for the title " pretty," not tall enough for " beautiful ") ; had something low-voiced, languidly harmonious ; placid, sensuous, loved perfumes ; a half Begum in short ; interesting specimen of the semi-oriental Englishwoman." Close observation at least had gone to the creation of this portrait the details of which Carlyle had ample leisure to elaborate in the period of his intimacy with the Strachey family.

It is interesting and amusing to glance at the effect upon Jane Welsh of Carlyle's naive eulogy of Kitty. Writing in 1824, the lady who afterwards became his wife, betrays not a little annoyance: " Miss Kitty Kirkpatrick, lord, what an ugly name! Good Kitty! Oh, pretty, dear, delightful Kitty! I am not a bit

jealous of her, not I indeed—Hindu princess though she be ! Only you may as well never let me hear you mention her name again." Once more in 1826, the lonely lady in the north, writing to her lover in evident enjoyment of southern luxury, raised the name of her rival, if thus she may be described : " Suppose we take different roads. There is Catherine Aurora Kirkpatrick for instance who has fifty thousand pounds and a princely lineage and never was out of humour in her life. With such a singularly pleasing creature and so much fine gold you could hardly fail to find yourself admirably well off." Poor Carlyle! It may be assumed that he exercised the same tact in marriage as in courtship, and exposed himself to the flicking of a clever woman's cultivated tongue. More than forty years later, in looking back on the past, he has made the following confession : " It strikes me more than it did then that Mrs. Strachey would have liked to see dear Kitty and myself together, and continue near her, both of us, through life." Doubtless Miss Kirkpatrick's fate was a troublesome business for her kindly cousin. The latter was the life-long friend of Carlyle ; while Kitty married well and happily. She fell to the lot of a Captain Phillips, an officer in the 7th Hussars, by whom she had many children passionately loved ; and died in her 87th year.

Her memory has been preserved not only in the letters of Carlyle but in the *Sartor Resartus*. This work appeared by instalments in *Fraser's Magazine* in 1833-4 ; and was published as a separate volume in 1839. As a matter of course, it came into the hands of Mrs. Strachey who expounded the characters to her son ; and declared that in parts of the book the references to places and persons were as plain as noon day. It is worth remembering that Carlyle went to London for the first time in the company of the Bullers ; and in their family he made his first acquaintance with a generous way of life, and with a society other than provincial. The friendship of Mrs. Charles Buller, of her

sister Mrs. Strachey and of the cultivated people of their set, must have broadened the young scholar's view of human character and manners. It was natural that he should borrow freely from the friends in his immediate circle for the character of Sartor Resartus; and the identity of these individual portraits has been worked out by a member of the Strachey family in the *Nineteenth Century Magazine* for September 1892. "The story of the book," said Mrs. Strachey to her son, "is as plain as a pikestaff. Teufelsdröckh is Thomas himself. The Zahdärms are your uncle and aunt Buller. Toughgut is young Charles Buller. Philistine is Irving. The duenna cousin is myself. The rose-garden is our garden at Shooter's Hill, and the Rose-goddess is Kitty." Here, in pleasing concentration, is the whole early society of the Buller household, which made such good copy for Carlyle's letters to his father and Jane Welsh.

But our main concern is with the romantic Kitty. Strange fate that the daughter of James Achilles Kirkpatrick, Resident at the Court of the Nizam of Hyderabad, should be in truth the heroine—the immortal Blumine—of the love story that runs through the strangely imaginative production of Sartor Resartus. Her claim to this distinction has been disputed. There was a certain Margaret Gordon who would have none of Carlyle; and of course there was Jane Welsh with whom the philosopher kept up a steady and voluminous correspondence during his period of acquaintance with the Bullers. Both ladies have been championed for the honour of standing for Blumine's portrait: but the evidence of the Strachey family, and of Kitty herself, long after she had bidden farewell to romance, is practically conclusive. The latter maintained that the love passages of Sartor Resartus were a mixture of fancy and of fact; and that she had herself tackled the author on the delicate question of the final scene between his hero and Blumine. All the world knows the passage—"She put her hand in his,

she looked in his face, tears started to her eyes, in wild audacity he clasped her to his bosom ; their lips were joined, their two souls, like two dewdrops, rushed into one—for the first time, and for the last, thus was Teufelsdröckh made immortal by a kiss." Kitty strongly maintained that this at least was a poet's licence ; and that, so far as she was concerned, in that manner Carlyle had never been made immortal.

Any romantic situation in life or in literature would have been appropriate to the daughter of James Achilles Kirkpatrick. This family was of ancient Scottish origin, and derived from that Roger Kirkpatrick who, after the affray between Bruce and the Red Comyn, returned to "mak siccar." Colonel James Kirkpatrick of the Madras cavalry was the officer who resigned his much-needed leave in order to join Clive in his operations against Suraj-ud-dowlah. He commanded the first of the four divisions at Plassey, reaped his reward in a handsome fortune, but died in 1757 on the eve of departure for England. He had three sons : William, the Persian scholar and Secretary to Lord Wellesley; George, a Bombay Civilian; and James Achilles born in 1764 and sent to India in the military service of the Company. The last and youngest served in the Mysore War of 1791; and was appointed assistant to his brother William, his senior by ten years, in the post of Resident of Hyderabad. In 1797 he succeeded to this post; and carried through a series of negotiations on behalf of the Governor-General at a period when the influence of France and the enmity of Tippu Sultan of Mysore, made diplomacy a hazardous and exacting business. William Kirkpatrick had been compelled by ill-health to take a voyage to the Cape, where he met Lord Wellesley then on his way to Calcutta. The latter derived his first intimate knowledge of India from Kirkpatrick who, much to his younger brother's advantage, was appointed military and then political secretary. He was able to advise his chief on the serious problem of south Indian politics, and

to give him unrivalled advice upon Hyderabad which had suddenly become a centre of danger.

This state had been protected by foreign aid, and had maintained a large military force disciplined by French officers. It was the policy of the Governor-General, through James Achilles Kirkpatrick, to make different arrangements; and the Resident advised the Nizam to ally himself with the English, and to substitute British for French troops under the subsidiary system. The Nizam and his ministers consented to this policy: but, in putting it into effect, true orientals as they were, they hesitated and wavered. Delay and indecision were likely to lead to serious trouble; and Kirkpatrick took the matter into his own hands. He ordered the advance of Colonel Roberts and his regiments; and without the firing of a single shot, 14,000 sepoys with 124 French officers gave up their arms. This was a conspicuous triumph; and the subsidiary treaty of Hyderabad was regarded by the Court of Directors as worthy of the most substantial recognition. They voted an annuity of £5,000 for a term of twenty years to Lord Wellesley, the payment to be made from the 1st of September 1798, the day of the conclusion of the treaty. Kirkpatrick's reward was less substantial. He was made an honorary aide-de-camp to the Governor-General, the first officer upon whom the distinction was conferred. But he had established his reputation for courage and decision amongst the people of Hyderabad to whom he was known as Hushmut Jung, the magnificent in battle. He had won the esteem and friendship of the Nizam; and, what is more to the point of our narrative, he had so established himself in the state of Hyderabad as to enable him to live down the uproar caused by his romantic marriage with Khair-un-Nissa Begum, the Persian daughter of the Nizam's paymaster.

At this period of his career Kirkpatrick was in high favour with Lord Wellesley to whom his brother was chief adviser. The character of the man, most records agree, was

peculiarly attractive; and by personal inclination he favoured an oriental way of life. He loved display, and took care to surround the representative of the Company's power with every external sign of authority. Here is a picture of him drawn by an eye-witness, Mountstuart Elphinstone, who passed through Mysore and Hyderabad on his way to Bombay in the company of Edward Strachey : "Major Kirkpatrick goes in great state. He has several elephants and a State *palanquin*, led horses, flags, long poles with tassels and is attended by two companies of infantry and a troop of cavalry." At this time he was about 35 years of age and handsome in appearance. According to Elphinstone : "He wears mustachios ; his hair is cropped very short, and his fingers are dyed with henna. In other respects he is like an Englishman. He is very communicative and very desirous to please ; but he tells long stories about himself, and practises all the affectations of which the face and eyes are capable." There is not much enthusiasm in this portrait; but Elphinstone and Strachey had just left the residence of Arthur Wellesley at Mysore whose dislike of Hushmut Jung was openly and bitterly expressed. Not only so, but there was little in common between the free-lance, Kirkpatrick, and the very proper young Etonian that Elphinstone certainly was. "Two very superior young men," writes Hushmut Jung of the two youths who had just passed through his territories.

Inevitably the good looks and the reputed kindness of Kirkpatrick had been the theme of much gossip in the zenana. The ladies of the Court, if unseen, could themselves see and hear. Amongst them was a youthful begum Khair-un-Nissa of Persian descent, whose grandfathers were men of position, and employed in the control of the subsidiary force. She was beautiful ; and, according to her mother, the story of her charms had been noised abroad by an English lady who used to visit the zenana. However this may be, she had seen Hushmut Jung for certain; and the development

of her admiration into love was so sudden and romantic that its story must be told in the words of those most intimately concerned. In his letters to his brother William, Kirkpatrick gives an account of the amazing way in which he was pursued by the love-sick girl. He was sitting alone one evening, when an old woman, one of those crones who act as match-makers in the East, came in to him unannounced. She told how Khair-un-Nissa (the girl whose beauty was already famous) had seen him at an entertainment in the house of her grandfather, and desired to become his wife. The visit was repeated from time to time; and the old woman failing to make any impression upon the Englishman, the girl herself took up her own case. These facts are derived from a letter now lost; but in a second letter still in existence the truth of Khair-un-Nissa's forbidden escapade is vouched for. She actually came in person to the Residency; and Kirkpatrick himself is the best and only authority on what took place. He writes: "It may not be amiss to observe that I did once safely pass the fiery ordeal of a long nocturnal interview with the charming object of the present letter. It was this interview I alluded to as the one when I had a full and close survey of her lovely person. It lasted during the greater part of the night, and was evidently contrived by the grandmother to indulge her uncontrollable wishes. I who was but ill-qualified for the task, attempted to argue the romantic young creature out of a passion which I could not, I confess, help feeling myself something more than pity for. She declared to me again and again that her affections had been irrevocably fixed on me for a series of time, that her fate were linked to mine, and that she would be content to pass her days with me as the humblest of handmaids." After this interview Kirkpatrick was implored to visit the residence of the family of Khair-un-Nissa; and again writes to his brother: "I went there and when I assure you—which I do most solemnly—the grandmother herself intimated the design of this meeting, and the

grand-daughter in faint and broken accents hinted that my listening to her suit was the only chance of avoiding a hateful marriage, I think you cannot but allow that I must have been something more or less than man to have held out any longer." Here was the beginning of a crop of troubles.

*The East India Company* looked with disfavour upon actual *marriages between their officers and Indian ladies of rank*, fearing political influences contrary to their interests. Arthur Wellesley, the brother of the Governor-General, was in charge of the newly-conquered Mysore territory contiguous to Hyderabad, and he seems to have been positively hostile to Kirkpatrick. It was the year 1800. French influence was still strong, and Waterloo had yet to be fought. The Nizam's Court, the most oriental in India, was a centre of dangerous intrigue. In his administrative work the English Resident had taken a strong line; and that he had enemies, goes without saying. Rumour, breaking into open scandal, was soon busy with his name.

It was noised abroad that Hushmut Jung had become a Mussulman, and was about to enter into a marriage alliance with the royal house. Dissension began even in the family of Khair-un-Nissa; and Mir Alum, at one time the Nizam's representative with the British Government, and a sworn enemy of Kirkpatrick who had refused his offers of a bribe, took upon himself to write to Lord Wellesley and to represent the Hyderabad romance as a scandal dangerous to the Company's good name. He dragged in a discredited story about the murder of one Mahmood Ali Khan who had actually died from the effects of a gun-shot wound, and not from suicide, as alleged, on hearing of Khair-un-Nissa's connection with Hushmut Jung. The tale-bearer writes : " This conduct on the part of Captain Kirkpatrick has given me the greatest degree of grief and concern, for whilst the public talk upon the subject of the first accusation of the murder of Mahmood Ali Khan remains yet unstifled, should the second circumstance, that is the marriage, take place,

the public will obtain an extraordinary handle of conversation, and the former accusation will receive general credit. Such actions indeed are very unbecoming the character of representatives of so powerful a State as that of the Company ; and with what dignity, respectability and reputation did the former residents conduct themselves. So *much so, that a similar accusation was never brought even against their servants. At all events, being sincerely* attached to the Honourable Company, and considering it one of the obligations of attachment to communicate these circumstances, I have accordingly intimated them to your Lordship." Not a bad effort for the discredited agent of the Nizam ! But he had been anticipated by Kirkpatrick himself who, in a public Dispatch of the 26th of March 1800, had made some reference to the spread of unfounded rumours connected with his name. Of these Lord Wellesley does not appear to have taken notice; and he seems to have concluded that no actual marriage between Hushmut Jung and Khair-un-Nissa had been contemplated. But the arrival of Mir Alum's communication, followed by an anonymous letter from Hyderabad inciting the Governor-General, roused Lord Wellesley to action. The papers were circulated in Council; and an immediate explanation from Kirkpatrick was demanded. Curiously enough an enquiry was ordered through Hushmut Jung himself into the truth of Mir Alum's report, and into the authorship of the anonymous letter. For the latter no details were ever found; but the Persian Secretary of Kirkpatrick sent a lengthy report to Calcutta, dated the 8th of January 1801. This was largely a record of the troubles caused in the family of Khair-un-Nissa by her grandfather, Akil-ud-Dowlah, having opposed her projected union. But the latter had become more reasonable; and the Secretary's report had at least the effect of putting the whole business in its proper light, and of destroying sensational rumours.

After the despatch of this document, it is probable that some form of marriage ceremony was gone through. The Nizam well knew the danger of displeasing Lord Wellesley, if a public and ceremonial marriage were celebrated ; and he contrived to dispense with any unnecessary show. Fortunately the actual events were related in detail by the bride's mother, Shirf-un-Nissa, to Captain Duncan Malcolm, forty years later the Resident at Hyderabad. Her statement, translated from the Persian and signed by Malcolm, is remarkably brief and unambiguous. It runs as follows:— “Akil-ud-Dowlah, my father, was the *bukshe* (paymaster) appointed by the Nizam's Government to attend the English gentlemen of the Hyderabad subsidiary force; and in consequence of the appointment which he held, several of the English gentlemen were in the habit of coming to entertainments at his house. On one occasion, when an entertainment was given to Colonel Dallas, about twenty gentlemen and their ladies came to my father's house. Colonel Dallas' lady came to the inner apartments and visited us women. She greatly admired my daughter, and said she reminded her strongly of her own sister. After this, on her return to her own house, she praised the beauty of my daughter to Hushmut Jung Bahadur. Colonel James Kirkpatrick sought my daughter from Nizam Ali Khan as also from Aristojah, the Prime Minister. My father, after much demur, gave his consent that the ceremony of *nikah* should take place. To this also Nizam Ali Khan assented, and honoured Colonel James Kirkpatrick at the same time with the designation of his son. While this was going on, Mir Alum, the Nizam's Agent with the British Government, wrote a letter to the Lord Sahib to the effect that Akil-ud-Dowlah had not given his consent to the marriage of his granddaughter, but that Hushmut Jung had taken her by force. The Lord Sahib wrote to Nizam Ali Khan to know how this occurred. His Highness ordered a declaration to be prepared under his

own private seal to the effect that everything had been done with the free will and consent of all parties, and that whoever had made a contrary representation to the Governor-General was in error. In consequence of these discussions the marriage ceremonies were not performed in the usual manner, though the marriage contract was gone through according to Muhammadan rites." The good lady is discreetly silent upon the advances made to Hushmut Jung by the go-between of her zenana; but the real interest of her statement is its substantiation of the marriage ceremony.

In this lay considerable chance of further trouble for Hushmut Jung: but some time passed before the news of the marriage reached Calcutta. When their first child was born, Kirkpatrick seems to have decided to acknowledge his wife publicly and to provide her with apartments in the Residency. Here an oriental zenana was built in a style worthy of the lady's rank; and in reply to a severe letter of censure from Lord Wellesley, he replied that he had "hearkened to the voice of nature pleading eloquently in the engaging form of a helpless infant." While he expressed his readiness to abide by the decision of the authorities on the holding of his appointment as Resident, he did not fail to justify his marriage, and to maintain that he had given rise to no public scandal in Hyderabad. Wellesley believed his conduct to have been prejudicial to the public interest. It is probable that he was confirmed in this attitude by his brother, the Resident of Mysore. It is equally probable that anonymous and highly coloured reports of a malicious nature were despatched by interested intriguers to Calcutta. These unfortunate influences were counterbalanced by the presence of William Kirkpatrick in close official connection with the Governor-General. To him the younger brother had been able to give the intimate details of his romantic adventure, and to put his case before one in high places without the restraints of official phraseology. But by the month of May in 1802, Wellesley had determined on the removal

of Hushmut Jung. Captain (afterwards Sir John) Malcolm was despatched to Hyderabad with orders to supersede the Resident, if after a further enquiry he considered it expedient. It is obvious that rumour was still busy with Hushmut Jung's private affairs; and that the Governor-General had been led to believe that genuine political importance was attached to the now notorious marriage. But on his arrival at Masulipatam, Malcolm was met by the captain of Kirkpatrick's cavalry escort who explained to him how inexpedient his proposed enquiry was likely to be; and the discomfited envoy had no other course than to return to Calcutta. Brave days indeed! Lord Wellesley had reason to adopt a new attitude to his independent subordinate when his own conduct of affairs became likely to lead to serious trouble for himself in England. In William Kirkpatrick he found a staunch supporter; and all threats of removing his younger brother were withdrawn. Hushmut Jung's public services were acknowledged; and for the remainder of his life, unfortunately brief, he was allowed to live in peace with his lady.

It is impossible to unravel the whole tangled narrative of this romantic marriage. The papers are incomplete: and there is much on record that springs from belated hearsay. But from the letters of Kirkpatrick it is easy to draw a pleasing picture of his married life with Khair-un-Nissa, of his fondness for his children, and of the extravagance of his oriental way of living. Firmly established in Hyderabad, he set himself to the building of a residence in keeping with his tastes and position. To him was due the erection of the British Residency of Chudderghat, one of the spectacles of Hyderabad at the present time; and his plans seem to have been on the most lavish scale. Rightly or wrongly Hushmut Jung believed in the trappings of authority; and his display rivalled that of any of the Indian noblemen at the Court of the Nizam. It is curious to read of his combination of Eastern and Western luxury in this new palace of his. The

building had a hall sixty feet long, thirty wide and forty high, approached by a terrace with thirty-two granite steps leading up to a portico. It stood in a park of one mile circumference with a lake, a garden and a deer paddock. The zenana, at that time a conspicuous feature of the palace, was adorned with paintings and made cool by fountains. His wife and children lived in strict adherence to the *purdah*. "We never saw the lady," writes one visitor, "but we used to see Hushmut Jung crossing the Residency Court and going into his zenana." The Rang Mahal, as this building was called, was thrown open to the ladies of Kirkpatrick's guests when the latter were entertained in the palace. This lavish style of living was made possible by his wife's fortune, by the generosity of the Nizam, and partly by his own large official income. His private expenditure was on a scale commensurate with the size of his residence. In a letter to his brother, then in England, he advised the purchase of a reflecting telescope of twelve or fourteen feet at a cost of £500 as an ornament of his terrace. Chemical and electrical apparatus, Chinese lamps in thousands, European orange trees and an English bandmaster are in the list of his requisitions. His presents to the various members of his family were equally generous; and when his brother William left India in ill-health, he insisted on paying him one thousand pounds yearly.

Khair-un-Nissa bore two children. The eldest known in Hyderabad as Sahib Allum, and in England as William George, was born in 1801. Sahib Begum, or Catherine Aurora (the "Kitty" of the Buller family), was born in 1802. There are several references to these children in Kirkpatrick's correspondence. As there was no chaplain in Hyderabad, they had not been christened; but in their father's will, it is carefully directed that they should be christened either in Madras or in England. About 1804 or 1805, it had been decided to send them home to their grandfather to be educated. For their mother's sake a careful

life-size picture of both was painted by Chinnery, the miniature artist. The children are drawn in highly coloured Indian dress, but their European appearance has been preserved: "their bare feet are in embroidered slippers; and their curly hair shows under their tightly fitting caps braided with gold." This portrait was kept by Khair-un-Nissa in the Rang Mahal Zenana at Hyderabad until her death, when it was despatched to England and handed over to "Kitty," the contented mother of Captain Phillips' children. William George and Catherine Aurora were taken to Europe by the wife of the English surgeon at Hyderabad. Their first home was at Bromley in Kent, at the residence of their grandfather, and later with the eldest daughter of their uncle, Colonel William Kirkpatrick. The date of their mother's death is uncertain; but a lengthy correspondence was maintained between them and their grandmother who appears to have been a masterly dame, and to have lived to a prodigious age in Hyderabad. When William George had reached manhood, she invited him to visit her in India; but owing to a severe accident which ultimately caused his premature death, he had to refuse. The letters of the grandmother to "Kitty" were in Persian writing on paper sprinkled with gold leaf and enclosed in bags of cloth of gold. The Resident, Sir Henry Russell, through whom these letters were forwarded, added his translation and any news of interest to the family. It is curious to think of these ornate and scented effusions coming regularly to the hand of the Miss Kirkpatrick of the Buller household when she was fascinating the young Scottish tutor who was destined to give her immortality.

Kirkpatrick accompanied his children to Madras, the first stage of their homeward journey; and went on a voyage to recruit his failing health. He hoped to gain this much-desired end by proceeding to Calcutta by sea where official business of an important kind awaited him. Cornwallis had succeeded Wellesley as Governor-General; and the latter's

policy he was bent on reversing. Amongst other political agents, Kirkpatrick had been summoned to consult with his new chief; but his career was about to close. On the 15th of October 1805 he died in Calcutta. St. John's Church holds his memorial. The value of the work he did in Hyderabad is perhaps forgotten in the romantic interest of his marriage, which the accident of Carlyle's connection with the Buller family has kept alive. But Wellesley's statue represents him with one hand resting upon the Subsidiary Treaty of 1798 —a conspicuous triumph achieved for him by the ability of his lieutenant, Kirkpatrick. From the Battle of the Nile until the year of Trafalgar, when French influence was vigorous at the Court centres of India, he maintained the dignity and prestige of England in a State whose ruler came to regard him as a son. Theatrical, ostentatious and extravagant he may have been; but he understood the life around him, and had a task that demanded special means for its successful fulfilment. It is matter for regret that his career has found no competent chronicler. The romance of his marriage is something more than a fascinating story, in this, that it has kept alive the memory of one who deserves well of history.

## JAIN ANTIQUITIES OF SOUTHERN INDIA.

BY M. M. PERIS.

IT is not the purpose of this essay to enquire into the origin of Jainism in India or to trace its history in Canara, its South Indian stronghold. As the title indicates I propose to describe only the remains of Jain power in South Canara, which as relics of the early sculptor's art are unique in the world. The colossal monolithic figures are truly Egyptian in size and the largest of the kind preserved. As objects of interest too they have attracted the tourist and sightseer from Europe and America.

A few details of the race to which the quaint edifices owe their existence might, however, interest the general reader. Canara, where also in South India Jainism has succumbed to the effects of time, counted in January, 1911, 9,000 adherents among its inhabitants, scattered over parts of the Mangalore, Uppinangady and Udupi taluqs. Their numbers are daily thinned owing to a variety of causes. It is feared that if the race continue to decay at its present rate it will be extinct before the century has advanced towards its close. The local Jains belong to the *Digambara* class, the other division being the *Swetambaras* or white clad. *Digambara* signifies naked or sky clad and hence all their images and statues are quite nude. Not even an ornament is allowed to relieve or cover the statue. Jainism, I may add in passing, is a heretical offshoot of Buddhism produced as a result of the excommunication pronounced at the second council and retains doctrines in common with the mother religion. It also bears points of resemblance to Hinduism, side by side with which it flourished in this land of many religions. The Jains of South Canara are for

social purposes subdivided into two main sections, *viz.*, the *Indras* or priests who follow the ordinary rule of inheritance and the *Strawak* or laity who follow the national or *Alia-santana* system. Jains and Bunts who form the landed classes of the district observe with only a slight difference the same costume, mode of life and social customs. A sacred thread worn in the Brahmin fashion alone distinguishes the Jain from the indigenous Bunt. The Jains also abstain from animal food and spirituous liquors. Their funeral obsequies end in a temple with an "*Abhishekam*" service performed on the 16th day after death. The Bunt ceremonies on the contrary begin and end at home. The Jain kindness for the dumb animals is, in daily practice, at least eccentric. He will not if he can help it tread upon an insect that crosses his path and will filter or strain his water before he drinks it lest he should swallow the animalcula suspended in it. The reader should not, however, suppose that cruelty to fellow-men is unknown among the Jains. They are by no means gifted with an exceptional human nature.

Buddhism proper does not seem ever to have invaded South India. Such evidences as are available point to the fact that the earliest rulers of Canara whose history is recorded, professed only the heretical form of the faith. The repeated struggles for independence which constitute the later history of the Hindu Ballal kings of Mysore and their Jain neighbours, the Bairasu Wodears of Karkal, ended in the assumption of supreme power by the latter. An influx of Jain stone workers of Mysore followed the change, and Canara was flooded with Jain architects. The whole province was speedily dotted with temples, images and pillars of which those constructed at Barkur were destroyed by the Lingayat chiefs of Mysore about the year 1608. The style of architecture followed by the Mysorean builders in their new field of activities was copied from the existing models which were a curious combination of Jain and Hindu

ideas. At one time the friendliest of relations subsisted between the followers of the two creeds. The ruins of Barkur extend for a couple of square miles, and reveal from time to time interesting specimens of the carver's work. They are also supposed to conceal fabulous treasure, an occasional tangible proof of which is unearthed by the natives of the place. The Jain authority in South Canara was represented by the Choutar of Mudbidri, Bangar of Nandavar, Ajalar of Aldangadi, Mular of Bailangadi and Savanta of Mulki when it was finally overthrown by Tippoo. Families may still be met with who claim direct descent from one or the other Royal House named above and who are permitted to enjoy the possession of a portion of the lands which compose their original domains. As a natural consequence of the decline of the political power of the Jains the religious faith of their dependents began to slacken its hold upon them. In fact they never seemed to have clung very faithfully to the imported creed foisted upon them by their foreign rulers. If they assumed it at all they regarded it as a fashionable addition imposed by the exigencies of the time. The indigenous Bunts who adopted the new faith were demon worshippers by birth and remained so despite their apparent conversion.

The seats of Jain Antiquities in Canara are four, *viz.*, Karkal, Venoor, Mudbidri and Guruvankere, of which the first named two possess huge detached statues in addition to temples. The largest statue in the world is, by the way, to be found at Sravana-Belgola in the Hassan district of Mysore. These detached statues are locally known as *Bettus* from the fact of their being enclosed by a crenelated stone wall. *Basties* or temples and *stambhas* or pillars form the other two classes of Jain architectural remains. All the three figures represent Gumpa Raja, the first of the Thirthankaras, in gigantic proportions. Of the Canara images the one at Karkal is the larger being 41 feet 5 inches and was as recorded in the inscription at its foot completed

- in 1432 A.D. Compared to its rival in size at Belgola, it is very modern. Belgola statue is 57 feet high and was set up by the minister Chamunda Raja between the years 977 and 984 A.D.

*Karkal*.—Placed on the summit of a high granite rock and visible for miles around the Karkal statue inspires the observer with silent awe which increases as he approaches and realises its immense size. The rock itself is situated at the edge of a picturesque artificial lake which the visitor will be told is fathomless and infested with crocodiles of a patriarchal age. The statue is said to have been set up by Veera Pandya, son of Bhairavendra of the lunar race to represent Bahubalin, son of Adigina or Vrishabanatha, first of the *Thirthankars*. These last are Jain saints elevated to the rank of the gods. I extract the subjoined description of the statue from the Fraser's Magazine of May 1875. The description is true of all Jain or Buddhist images from China to Ceylon, for invariably the same forms and lineaments are ascribed to Gautama.

“Upon the outskirts of Karkal rises a rocky hill of generally rounded form, like a basin reversed, its base rough and bushy, the upper slopes smooth and steep. Looking up the hill from a distance the enchanted castles of fairy tales come back to mind, for on the top is seen a castle-like wall pierced with a wide arched entrance and a dark gigantic form towering over it waist high. This is one of those colossal statues that are found in this part of the country, statues truly Egyptian in size and unrivalled throughout India as detached works. On the hill top a crenelated quadrangular wall encloses a stone platform 5 feet high, on which rises the stupendous image 45 feet in height. Nude, cut from a single mass of granite, darkened by the monsoons of centuries, the vast statue stands upright with arms hanging straight, but not awkwardly down the sides, in a posture of somewhat stiff, but simple dignity. The form and lineaments are evidently the same with those to which from

Ceylon to China and utmost Tartary, have handed down with unvarying tradition the habit as he lived of that most wondrous of mortals that ever wore flesh, Gautama Buddha. Remarkable it is too that the features show nothing distinctively Hindu. The hair grows in close crisp curls ; the broad fleshy cheeks might make the face seem heavy, were it not for the marked and dignified expression conferred by the calm forward gazing eyes and aquiline nose, somewhat pointed at tip. The forehead is of average size, the lips very full and thick, the upper one long almost to ugliness, throwing the chin, though full and prominent, into the shade. The arms which touch the body only at the hips are remarkably long, the large well-formed hands, and fingers reaching to the knees ; the exigencies of the posture and material have caused the shoulders where the arms join to be rather disproportionately broad and massive. The feet each 4 feet 9 inches long, rest on a stand, wrought from the same rock that seems small for the immense size and weight (80 tons) of the statue, a lotus stem springing at each foot is carried up in low relief twice round each leg and arm. Once in sixty years the scattered Jain gather from all quarters and bathe the colossus with cocoanut milk." To facilitate ascent steps have recently been cut in the steep side of the hill at Jain expense in the interests of pilgrims and sightseers.

Besides the Gumta Karkal contains two *Basties* and a *Stambha*. The Heleangadi Basti is situated a mile or two out of the town and at the foot of a high hill from which a clear view can be obtained of the sea full 15 miles away as the crow flies. The chief interest of the Basti lies in the handsome monolithic pillar of a total height of 50 feet which stands at its entrance and in the fine silver and brass images of Jain saints enshrined within. The pillar is described as the handsomest in South Canara. In point of size it is doubtless the largest but in design, proportion and workmanship it is inferior

to several at Mudbidri and decidedly to the one at Venoor.

The finest temple by far at Karkal is the *Chaturmuka* or four-faced edifice which stands a few furlongs from the Gumta above described. It is built in the form of a *Mantapa* or hall cruciform in plan with a lofty doorway, and columned portico on each of its four quarters and a verandah running all round. The flat roof is constructed of massive granite slabs and is supposed to have once supported some sort of a cupola. The exterior walls and the flat surfaces of the pillars bear complicated carvings. The decorations consist of deities adorned with graceful and intricate arabesque designs, rosettes and stars, leaf and scroll works in endless combination wrought as finely as Chinese ivory work. The friezes and pediments round the pillars are similarly ornamented and frequently a stone in the wall displays either a quaint device, or a hundred petalled flower disc or a pair of snakes inextricably intertwined or a grotesque head surrounded with fruitage. Enshrined within are twelve large burnished copper idols of Jain saints in an erect posture and grouped in three facing the entrance.

*Venoor.*—The Venoor Gumta, 35 feet in height, stands on a masonry platform on an elevated terrace. It like the Karkal statue faces due north and receives no direct sunlight to illuminate its sombre features. The site is situated on the left bank of the Gurpur river. The image bears an inscription which has been disfigured by a crack. As far as it can be deciphered it records that Thimmaraja of the house of Chamunda erected it at the instance of the Jain priest Charukirti, the High Priest of Belgola whom Thimmaraja acknowledged as his spiritual preceptor. The image was consecrated in 1604.

A Santeswara temple completes the list of Jain works at Venoor. It is attended by a beautiful pillar which is considered the best of the whole Canara Collection. An

attendant shrine adjoins the temple which is set off by an exquisitely carved door frame, a veritable wonder of art, carried out in potstone, probably imported from Mysore. The shrine contains the 24 Thirthankaras ranged in a row and two feet in size of polished blackstone. Each is placed under a horseshoe-shaped arch wrought in the same material.

*Mudbidri*.—Mudbidri is noted as the seat of the finest specimen of Jain architecture in the Chandranath temple built on a branch of the main road leading to Karkal 10 miles away. The entrance is spanned by an elaborately carved gateway behind which stands the usual mana-stambha or pillar crowned with a capital and canopied entablature of delicate open stonework ending in a highly enriched flame-like finial. The design of the temple resembles the common Chinese models composed of three storeys, the roofs of which rise over one another in a curious fashion and are covered with flagstones. Copper sheets take the place of the stones on the topmost roof in the present case. The temple is popularly known as the “1,000 column” temple from the numerous clusters of pillars of an endless variety of shape and design of which the edifice seems to be composed. Entrance to the shrine is forbidden, but presently the ponderous doors are pushed back for the inspection of the visitor, a light is seen to glimmer in the gloom within and to reveal a life size polished brass image of Chandranath, the eighth Thirthankara.

A collection of tombs arranged after the fashion of an English country graveyard is shown to the visitor in another part of the place. The monuments which are in various stages of decay are erected with one or two exceptions over the ashes of Jain saints, and in two or three tiers. The material used is cut laterite faced with granite finials. Rectangular in form they resemble the wooden pagodas so common in Northern India. Mudbidri is 22 miles north-east of Mangalore and lies in the hollow of a rolling plain.

**Guruvankere.**—The remains at Guruvankere, 2 miles from Beltangadi, are of no great note and consist of two temples dedicated to Santeswara and Chandranath respectively and a pretty Mantapa or hall with very lofty stone pillars. All the three buildings stand in the same enclosure outside which stands the usual pillar. For the exquisite character of its construction it compares with the finest of the kind in the district.

M. M. PERIS.

*Mangalore.*

# MAJOR SLEEMAN ON THE SPIRIT OF MILITARY DISCIPLINE IN THE NATIVE INDIAN ARMY.

BY J. N. DAS GUPTA.

## I.

IN 1841, Major Sleeman, of the Bengal Native Infantry, published a small, insignificant looking pamphlet, which has a strange fascination and special interest for us in India at the present juncture. The pamphlet is entitled "On the Spirit of Military Discipline in the Native Indian Army," and contains two of Sleeman's dissertations on current military topics of his day.\* On the very title-page of the publication, we are confronted with a statement of Malthus, which runs thus :—

"The misfortune of all history is, that while the motives of a few princes and leaders in their various projects of ambition are detailed with accuracy, the motives which crowd their standards with military followers are totally overlooked."

The statement under reference, it is superfluous to observe, pointedly directs attention to that which is the one outstanding feature of the recent War—that which distinguishes it from those

"Old, unhappy, far-off things  
And battles long ago,"

which history associates with the Timurs and Attilas of bygone times. The statement further vividly recalls to our mind the motives which actuate and the spirit which animated that "little contemptible army" to which civilization

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\* These now constitute the concluding chapters of the well-known *Rambles of an Indian Official*.

owes its salvation and which has covered itself with glory and won undying renown by its heroic stand against the murderous onslaughts of multitudinous German hordes.

In his introduction Major Sleeman says :—

“ These few pages on the ‘ Spirit of Military Discipline ’ had been written before the British Indian Army, under the auspices of Lord Auckland’s Government, had driven back upon the North-West that tide of conquest, which, for three thousand years, had been flowing in wave after wave upon Hindoostan with resistless force. They may never be published ; but I cannot deny myself the gratification of printing them, since the courage and fidelity, which it was my object to shew, that the British Government of India had a well-grounded right to expect from its Native Troops, and might always rely upon in the hour of need, have been so nobly displayed on this occasion. All the army feel that they participate in the good name, which has been acquired by that portion of it which Government has had occasion to call into action in effecting this great object ; and His Lordship’s administration will, I trust, always be agreeably associated in our minds, with the recollection of the proud events on which that good name has been founded.”

That “ courage and fidelity ” which, says Major Sleeman, “ the British Government of India had a well-grounded right to expect from its Native Troops ” have indeed been “ nobly displayed ” on many an occasion during the last four years. The achievements of the British Indian army at the various fronts need no recapitulation to-day. I, therefore, proceed to invite attention to Major Sleeman’s references to the classes from which the “ Sipahees of the Bengal army ” used to be mostly recruited by the East India Company. “ They are taken,” says Sleeman, “ from the agricultural classes of Indian Society—almost all the sons of yeomen—cultivating proprietors of the soil, whose families have increased beyond their means of

subsistence. One son is sent out after another to seek service in our regiments as necessity presses at home, from whatever cause—the increase of taxation or the too great increase of numbers in families. No men can have a higher sense of the duty they owe to the State that employs them, *or whose salt they eat*; nor can any men set less value on life when the service of that State requires that it shall be risked or sacrificed. No persons are brought up with more deference for parents. In no family from which we draw our recruits is a son through infancy, boyhood, or youth, heard to utter a disrespectful word to his parents—such a word from a son to his parents would shock the feelings of the whole community in which the family resides, and the offending member would be visited with their highest indignation. When the father dies the eldest son takes his place, and receives the same marks of respect,—the same entire confidence and deference as the father. If he be a soldier in a distant land, and can afford to do so, he resigns the service, and returns home, to take his post as the head of the family. If he cannot afford to resign, if the family still want the aid of his regular monthly pay, he remains with his regiment; and denies himself many of the personal comforts he has hitherto enjoyed, that he may increase his contribution to the general stock."

While the foregoing statement will be read with interest by many, many more will contemplate with feelings of admiration the charming vignette in the pages of this long-forgotten pamphlet to which I now allude. Says Sleeman—

"In the year 1817, I was encamped in a grove on the right bank of the Ganges, below Monghyr, when the Marquis of Hastings was proceeding up the river in his fleet, to put himself at the head of the grand division of the army, then about to take the field against the Pindaries, and their patrons, the Maharatta chiefs. Here I found an old native pensioner, above a hundred years of age. He had fought under Lord Clive at the battle of Plassey, A.D. 1757, and

was still a very cheerful, talkative old gentleman, though he had long lost the use of his eyes. One of his sons, a grey-headed old man, and a Subadar (Captain) in a regiment of native infantry, had been at the taking of Java, and was now come on leave, to visit his father. Other sons had risen to the rank of commissioned officers, and their families formed the aristocracy of the neighbourhood. In the evening, as the fleet approached, the old gentleman, dressed in his full uniform of former days as a commissioned officer, had himself taken out close to the bank of the river, that he might be once more, during his life, *within sight* of a British Commander-in-Chief, though he could no longer see one ! There the old patriarch sat listening with intense delight to the remarks of the host of his descendants around him, as the Governor-General's magnificent fleet passed along, every one fancying that he had caught a glimpse of the great man, and trying to describe him to the old gentleman, who, in return, told them (no doubt for the thousandth time) what sort of a person the great Lord Clive was. His son, the old Subadar, now and then, with modest deference, venturing to imagine a resemblance between one or the other, and his *beau ideal* of a great man, Lord Lake. Few things in India have interested me more than scenes like these."

One does not know which to admire most in this picture—the unquenchable fidelity and loyalty of the old, sightless, sun-baked veteran, or the loving reverential attitude of his children and grandchildren towards this patriarch. May this spirit of loyalty and patriarchal reverence continue to be India's heritage from the past for ages and ages to come !

## II.

'In connection with the general question of recruitment in India and of the proper utilisation of the Empire's man-power, a very special interest naturally attaches to the

sketch reproduced below which was placed before the public so far back as 1805, under the title of the sketch of a plan for raising a native naval corps in British India by John Borthwick Gilchrist, LL.D. The circumstances under which Dr. Gilchrist wrote are, in many respects, analogous to the crisis through which the British Empire has just passed ; for England has been fighting as of old against autocracy and militarism and the growing hordes of a military despot. No apology is, therefore, needed for inviting attention afresh to the various considerations put forth by Dr. Gilchrist so far back as 1805, especially after the Premier's great speech in which attention is invited to some of the problems—educational, social and economic—which shall have to be handled by constructive statesmanship in the new era which is opening out before the coming generations throughout the British Empire.

Dr. Gilchrist's theme would naturally interest many besides purely technical students interested in the results of historical investigations and in noting the successive stages of advance in thought and action in various spheres of human activity.

*“The Sketch of a Plan for raising a Native Naval Corps in British India.”*

Extension of territory, without an adequate increase of disposable popular strength, so far from conferring stability on any empire, rather exposes it ultimately to dangerous accidents, even in its most vital parts, either by draining them too much to support the extremities, or from a convulsive shock, communicated through these to the centre.

British India, in its political relation to Great Britain, is one of the best examples that could well be adduced to confirm the truth of the above doctrine, since at the present momentous period it actually furnishes one hundred thousand men in arms to preserve and defend those valuable regions from every enemy, for the mother country.

Thus situated, instead of proving an expensive load on the British Government, India not only affords a vast number of men for its own defence abroad, but a great deal of treasure to defray part of the expenses of an unavoidable contest at home, on the issue of which, all that is dear to us as a brave, a commercial and free people, is now at stake, and may continue so for a series of years.

Had any person, some fifty years ago, predicted, that our native army in the East Indies would in half a century swell to the amount stated above, and that the whole peninsula would now be subject to the United Kingdom, the prediction must then have been treated as chimerical and absurd as this assertion : "that under proper management, *a considerable efficient native marine force* may soon be raised in India," will be deemed by many prejudiced, self-sufficient, and inconsiderate men of the present day.

Money has, in metaphorical language, been justly termed the sinews of war, in the provision of which it is fortunate for us that there is little chance of failure in this country.

While everything has been done to push our military establishments to their utmost extent, throughout the whole empire, it appears wonderful, that no well-digested plan has yet been devised or adopted for a similar augmentation of our *naval force* on safe and practical principles, in the Indian Ocean.

Were we seriously to reflect, that every native so employed in these regions would allow the Government to retain a British sailor for insular defence or offensive operations and commerce nearer home, less would be urged in favour of good nurseries for British seamen in any part of the Torrid zone, and more attention might be bestowed on this scheme for preserving the lives of our most valuable defenders to the utmost of our ability.

If anything could add to the sound political reasons for the recent augmented establishment at Prince of Wales'

Island, its convenient situation for commencing, collecting, and organizing a regular corps of Indian seamen, from all our possessions in that quarter, may yet prove though last, not the least, argument in its favour.

The corps may be raised under the conciliating name of *Lushkuree* (whence the corruption *Lascar*) or *Khulasee* (vulgarly *Clashee*) to encourage the Moosulmans to enlist as sailors, under a term almost as flattering to their individual consequence, military pride, and national vanity on board, as *Sipahee*, as a soldier, proves to those who serve in that capacity ashore.

At first it might be prudent to train the whole or a large proportion to act as matrosses and marines, gradually habituating them to serve as such, or sailors, and *vice versa*, for which purpose a blue uniform turned up with red would prove the most convenient in every respect.

A stationary body of 1,500 or 2,000 men at Pulo Penang, with appropriate officers, colours, drums, etc., would serve both as a garrison for that valuable island and as an excellent nucleus for the projected naval force to be extended *ad libitum* at all the maritime places in the East Indies, by small recruiting parties from the headquarters of the corps which ought to be under the orders of the British admiral in India as an efficient part of his force in those seas, and supported by the King's government.

This corps might soon be able to supply every ship of war in India with detachments equal to one-third of their full complement, on principles similar to the royal marines at home, with this difference that the *Lushkurees* are expected to act in the double capacity of seamen and marines as soon, and as much, as possible.

To facilitate the speedy formation and growth of the *Lushkuree* corps, it would be highly necessary, that the several governments of India should give it all the countenance and encouragement in their power, besides holding out proper rewards in medals, money, or lands from

government, as they now do to the *Sipahees*, to those men worn out or wounded in the service, and to the relations of such *Lushkurees* as might fall in battle, etc.

A few able European officers should be attached to the *Lushkuree* corps, to serve as such at headquarters, or occasionally in ships of war, and to act when requisite as agents or recruiting officers, at the various ports in the East Indies.

On the proper selection of these gentlemen for local knowledge, particularly including that of the languages, general address, talents, suavity of manners, and known probity, the success expected from the proposed measure must entirely depend, otherwise it may become, in corrupt or ignorant hands, an expensive job, wholly unproductive of the good consequences derivable from it, under experienced and upright men.

The grand object of the agent's care should be invariably to protect the *Lushkurees* from the extortion of native crimps and inferior officers, to give every facility to their commodious conveyance from port to port, or to headquarters at Pulo Penang, and particularly to recommend to the several governments of India, that the *Lushkurees*' remittances, bills, letters, etc., should reach their relatives, postage free, through all parts of the peninsula.

Under the immediate superintendence of the Pulo Penang government, many improvements in this marine department would be progressively developed, so as to render the *Lushkuree* corps a most productive nursery of very useful British Indian sailors, who, with proper discipline, encouragement, and care, would, in the space of a few years, become as subservient to the true interests of the mother country by sea, as many thousands of their military countrymen are now confessedly so by land, without the smallest risk or inconvenience to the parent state.

Uniform good usage in the navy would very soon reconcile the *Lushkurees* and their relatives to that service,

as a fit and respectable mode of life for themselves and offspring.

The *Lushkurees*, being all Moosulmans, would eat either fresh or salt beef, provided the cattle were killed and cured by their own people, which could always be effected with very little trouble or expense, and a sufficient supply of such meat can at all times be sent to every ship having its complement of the native seamen on board.

On all the company's vessels two-thirds of good *Lushkurees* would be required to navigate or defend them everywhere, especially if an adequate *surplus* number of *Lushkurees* be allowed to act in war time as *marines*.

To allay the clamour which might be excited against the exposure of such men, in our Indiamen, to the rigour of European seasons, let it be recollected, that if they were properly encouraged, well-clothed, fed, and supplied with a moderate quantity of good rum, or brandy, they would in general stand the winter remarkably well, and even prove very good seamen, in all weathers, as many gentlemen, under these circumstances, can testify from actual experience.

The fact is, that without unremitting, systematic care and attention, little can be expected from our Indian subjects, while, on the contrary, with it, the experience of half a century has positively produced a large efficient native army ; and, if similar efforts be henceforth made to create a considerable native naval force in India, a very few years indeed will realize from 20 to 40,000 good seamen in that portion of the British empire.

If the Arabs, Malays and Africans, who are seamen in the eastern seas, be prudently incorporated with the native of India, the number might rapidly amount to 70,000 in all at our disposal (which would enable us to reserve an equal number of our British sailors in Europe).

Were the plan extended to the West Indies likewise, we might then employ a very large body of negro seamen,

subdivided among the fleets, with greater advantage and much less hazard, than may yet result from raising and employing negro regiments in that country.

Such corps, if they still exist, might be immediately detached to serve as marines in the West India fleets as the first step to their becoming, through time, very useful sailors ; for it is pretty well known, that good active marines, in the navy, frequently turn out very tolerable seamen.

The ravages often committed in the West Indies by the yellow fever, particularly point out the propriety of husbanding the lives of British sailors by every means in our power, in those regions.

When we consider the high bounties given to those who enter the navy, in war-time, it seems probable enough, that it would cost government even less money to raise and maintain a native naval corps of seamen, for distribution through the fleet, in British India, than it actually would do to support the same number of our countrymen there in that capacity ; to say nothing on the preservation of so many useful hands from the fatal effects of service in the trying climates of our eastern empire.

In time of peace it will naturally be asked, what is to become of all the *Lushkurees* employed during the war ? The same question may be put respecting great part of our navy and army at home, and when satisfactorily answered, it might be time enough to solve the former difficulty in the same way.

The *Lushkurees*, disciplined agreeably to this plan, might in fact form the regular military establishment of Pulo Penang (the Portsmouth of the east) and its dependencies, to be filled up and recruited with choice men among those discharged from the navy in time of peace.

Many of the rest would quickly find employment in the country merchants' ships of various descriptions, or in the *Sipahee* corps at Madras and Bombay, which often want a number of recruits.

Some might enter as *Khulassees* (*Clashee*) among the numerous bodies of men, under that name, attached to all the military corps in India, and others may be induced to settle for good at Pulo Penang, with proper encouragement in various ways, all highly beneficial to the infant state of an important colony and naval dépôt, as that valuable island will soon become to the British empire.

On the conclusion of a war, a round sum would always be saved to government, by immediately paying off all the *Lushkurees* in India, as the European part of each ship's crew would be fully competent to navigate the vessel home ; and as ships of war may always carry King's troops for India, to act as marines on the passage out, there would soon be little, if any necessity, for having a single man of the royal marines in that country, after the due establishment of the *Lushkuree* corps.

From a late valuable publication by Dr. William Hunter, surgeon to the marine establishment in Bengal, on the diseases of the *Lushkurees*, or Indian seamen, it appears that the health, preservation, and comfort, of this useful class of men, have very justly attracted the notice of a wise and liberal government ; we may therefore reasonably hope, that in the event of the present plan being carried into execution, the medical treatment of the Indian seamen would be such as to save a great number of these poor people from the jaws of death every year ; more especially as many of them evidently fall a sacrifice to those very habits and wants which never could occur among them, as small organized detachments, from a well-disciplined body of marines in the East Indies. Their residence in this country ought not only to be as limited in time as possible, but their conduct and treatment should, while in it, be under the immediate direction and control of an officer, qualified by a knowledge of their language and customs, to act in the triple capacity of superintendent, agent, and interpreter, from the period of their arrival here, until their departure

for India. While we continue at war our commerce alone must suffer very essentially from a scarcity, and sometimes a total want of seamen to navigate our ships, as hath repeatedly been felt by both our East and West India captains, when large fleets were on the eve of sailing under convoy from this country ; nobody, therefore, can deny the vast importance of seasonably applying such a remedy against this growing evil in future as the present plan will afford, without encroaching on the general population of our settlements abroad, or exposing them to any danger from such a body of men employed and stationed in the manner herein stated. Should this imperfect sketch produce some consideration and improvement of the subject, by abler men, I shall have done my duty in laying it thus before the public, from whose final decision there can, of course, be no appeal.

J. N. DAS GUPTA.

*Calcutta.*

## THE DANES AT SERAMPORE.

BY F. B. BRADLEY BIRT, I.C.S.

THE story of the Danes at Serampore is a long drawn out attempt on the part of a Western Nation to find a footing in Bengal. It furnishes an interesting story in persistence. For two hundred and thirty-three years, from 1612 when the Danish East India Company was first formed until 1845 when Serampore was finally relinquished, they strove to maintain and strengthen the position they had won on the banks of the Hooghly, refusing in the face of repeated ill success to give up the attempt yet only in the end to be compelled to acknowledge defeat.

Like all the other Western Nations the Danes made their first attempt at a settlement in India elsewhere than in Bengal. It was in 1616 that the first Danish ship reached India. So inhospitable, however, did it find the Coromandel Coast which had been its destruction that the Captain, Rodant Crape, lost his vessel in the attempt to land off Tranquebar. It was a disastrous beginning, and no sooner did the ship-wrecked crew finally gain a footing on Indian soil than they were seized by a hostile crowd of natives and promptly murdered, the Captain alone escaping. He at last, after many adventures, reached Tanjore where he unexpectedly found so much favour with the Raja that he was given a grant of land five miles long by three miles broad at Tranquebar, close by the spot where he had suffered ship-wreck. Here, four years later, a fort, the Dansborg, was built and a trading settlement established, which a few years later on a rapidly increasing tide of prosperity began to extend as far north as the Bay of Bengal. By the year 1633 active trade relations had been established along the Orissa Coast and a few years later still their first permanent

settlement in Bengal was established at Balasore. Here, however, they soon fell foul of the Muhammadan Governor, Malik Beg, and learned to their cost something of the tortuous methods of Oriental diplomacy. Malik Beg was a man who took short measures with his enemies. Poisoning all the Danish traders, he seized their goods and levelled their factories to the ground. The parent settlement at Tranquebar declared war on Malik Beg, but with no agents and no footing left in Bengal it was ten years before an opportunity of re-establishing themselves occurred. In 1674 there arrived from Denmark a ship of sixteen guns and a sloop, and these were at once despatched to start a fresh settlement in Bengal. Seizing five Muhammadan sailing vessels, they held them at ransom, demanding possession of the site of their old factory in return for their release. A new Governor, Malik Kasim, had succeeded an old enemy Malik Beg but they were destined quickly to discover that it was but a change in name and that the tortuous ways of Oriental politics remained the same. Malik Kasim at the outset spoke to them fair, promised them the same trading privileges as the English, a new site for their factory at Balasore, and help in the building of it, with Rs. 6,000 to cover their losses of ten years before. The Danes trusting in Malik Kasim's good faith accordingly gave up the five captured ships and the Commodore, with a party of officers and men, went ashore to pay their respects to the Governor. But instead of being courteously received as his fair words had given them reasons to hope, they found themselves treated with the greatest disrespect, being finally ordered to be detained. Malik Kasim stating in reply to expostulations that his agreement with them was not binding until confirmed by the Nawab at Dacca. The Danes at Tranquebar, hearing of the ill success of their Agents at Balasore, determined to urge their claim at the Court of the Nawab himself. Shaista Khan, the greatest of Moghul Governors of Bengal, received them favourably and in return for a payment of Rs. 5,000, a firman

was obtained authorising the Danes to trade free of customs dues in Bengal and Orissa.

On Commodore Wygbert's arrival with the firman, the Danes lost no time in re-establishing their factory at Balasore. Twenty years later so far had they advanced that they were able to pay Rs. 30,000 in ten annual instalments for another firman from Azim-u-Shah, Viceroy of Bengal, to establish a factory further up the river near Hooghly. Their first settlement there was known as Danemardanga, a name which with all the conservatism of the East, still survives after over two hundred years though the Danish occupation was only for a few brief years and the site of it has long since passed into the possession of the French, being now generally known as Gondalpara and being situated in the extreme southern corner of the present French settlement of Chandernagore. Alexander Hamilton in his new account of the East Indies mentions that he visited the Danish factory here in 1706. "There are several other villages on the river's side on the way to Hooghly," he writes, "but none remarkable till we come to the Danes' Factory, which stands about four miles below Hooghly. But the poverty of the Danes has made them desert it, after having robbed the Moghul subjects of some of their shipping to keep themselves from starving." Hamilton also mentions that the Danes had a house much further down the river near Gewankhali where the Rupnarain joins the Hooghly. "About five leagues further up," he writes, "on the west side of the river Hooghly in another branch of the Ganges, called Ganga; it is broader than that of Hooghly but much shallower and more encumbered with sandbanks; a little below the mouth of it the Danes have a thatched house, but for what reason they kept on house there, I never could learn." This is evidently the factory mentioned as Deense Logie, the Danish Lodge, in Valentyne's map which was published in 1723 and which is there shown on the east bank opposite the mouth of the river Bassandheri, the modern Rupnarain.

There is also a delightfully graphic letter, dated 26th November 1712, written by an unknown adventurer "cashiered at Madderass" according to his own account, who came to Bengal in search of fortune under the Emmer, by which name he designates the head of the Moghul Government. On his way up-country from Calcutta he writes that one Captain Courtany gave him letters to "Monsure Attrope, Governor of the Danes factory at Gondalpara who he told me was his friend." But though he gives an account of his visit to Hooghly, there is unfortunately no mention of "Monsure Attrope" and the Danes. One other reference to them about this time is to be found in Hedges' Diary, Sir Edward Littleton speaking of them approvingly as being supplied with wives from home and disdaining to form alliances with the women of the country.

Two years after the unknown adventurer's letter was written, "Monsure Attrope" was in difficulties and the Danes were forced to withdraw from their new settlement on the Hooghly. The story of their withdrawal may be read in the Diary and Consultation book of the Council at Fort William. "There having been a difference between the Danes and the Moor's Government for some time," runs the record of December, the 10th, 1714, "On which the Danes have been forced to leave their Factory, and have seized a large Suratt Ship Laden with Sugar, Silk, and other goods bound for Suratt and belonging to Merchants there. They are now making the best of their way down the river, to wait for what other ships shall go out belonging to the Moors and then design for Trincombar. The Government having wrote to us desiring that we will endeavour to accommodate the matter between the Danes and them, and the Customs Master with several other officers being come from Hooghly about it, agreed that Messrs. Feake, Deane, Frankland and also Captain Osborne do go on board the ship where the Danes' Chief is with a compliment from us, Acquainting him with what the Moors have desired of us, and to know

whether it is inclinable to make up the matter with them and what terms he will accept of."

The four delegates carried with them a letter addressed to "Mr. Attrup, Chief for Affairs of the Royal Company of Denmark, signed by Robert Hedges, President of the Council. I am very sorry you are obliged to use violent means to defend yourself from oppression," he wrote, "and shall think it a happyness if I may be a means to meditate a Peace that you may be securely settled, in your own Place again without Interruption from any Body." Apparently the deputation was unable to effect a compromise, and seven days later another letter was despatched signed not only by the President but by all the members of the Council, wishing "we may be the happy Instruments of your being resettled to your satisfaction in Bengall." They stated that since despatching their first letter they had received a messenger from Jaffir Kahn, the Dewan of Murshidabad, who promised to force the oppressors of the Danish Company "to give them full satisfaction for all the injuries they did then, and reimburse all the charges they had been forced to for their defence, his proposall and desire now being that they should remain in the River, two or three months in expectation of the King's Phirmaund which his Interest shall provide for at Court and being without putting you to any charges he will undertake the procureing it."

But the Danes smarting under the treacherous treatment they had just met with at the hands of the local Moghul authorities at Hooghly were unwilling to trust even this protestation of fair dealing on the part of the Dewan of Murshidabad himself or yet the assurances of the English Council. On the 21st of December the Chief of the Danish factory replied to the letter of the English Council assuring them that "he did not desire it should come to this extremity but desired of them Peace." Yet "as to the Dewan offering to deliver the Aggressors and pay the charges, it is not to be trusted to, or believed, nor will it be to the Profit of the

Royall Company of Denmark and I think it not safe to trust them who have proved themselves false so often." "If the Dewan has a mind to make all things right," he added, "he must procure us the Phirmaund, he has been paid for fifteen years ago, also they must assure us we are not to have the Like usage hereafter." Finally he wrote that the "weak proposall for us to stay here three months gives great suspicion and looks as if they had a mind to deceive us once more." So they finally resolved to carry off their prize to Tranquebar and carry on any further negotiations that might ensue from that safe distance. On April the 6th the following year news reached the English Council that the Danes and their prize has reached Fort St. Davids and had offered to sell the English Company their Cargo but the latter thinking "it nott prudent to permit their Importing with them ; the Danes proceeded to Tranquebar and sold the Cargo by public auction at not half the sum they had hoped to make of it. The ship itself they designed to send to Acheen.

For nearly ten decades nothing more is heard of the Danes in Bengal. Then they re-appear again loading and unloading their cargoes at Chandernagore by favour of the French and endeavouring once more to set up a Factory on the banks of the Hooghly. In this they finally succeeded in 1755 through the activities of their Agent Soctman and through the intercession of the French Governors at Cossimbazar and Chandernagore. Monsieur Law, Chief of the French Factory at Cossimbazar, related that Suraj-ud-doula had in 1755 acquired a considerable sum of money "owing to the business of establishing the Danes in Bengal." The old doting Nawab, Ali Verdi Khan, apparently allowed his grandson Suraj-ud-doula to take all the profits and "it was only by means of his order that I managed to conclude this affair " adds M. Law. The amount paid by the Danes was one lac and seventy thousand, a large sum considering the

*small profits the Danish trade in Bengal had hitherto yielded. For this outlay they obtained the right to set up a Factory and to trade in Bengal, but they were forbidden to build any fortification or to maintain a garrison.*

The land allotted to them was sixty bighas in all, three bighas on the river bank at Serampore and the remaining fifty-seven at Akna. The reason for taking up so much land at Akna was that though "no ship could lay at Akna, a good factory might be built there on a large open spot of ground," and moreover if they had taken up more land at Serampore itself they would have had to acquire all the houses situated thereon at a cost of some ten or twelve thousand rupees, which would tend to show that the place was one of some importance before the Danes settled there. Soctman was the first Governor of the new Settlement which he had done so much to bring into existence, and on October the 5th, 1755, he and his little company of Danish merchants proceeded to Serampore to take possession. All was not even yet smooth sailing, however, and the whole day was passed in hot disputes with the native officials. It was not until the following morning that everything was amicably arranged and the Danish flag finally hoisted over the new settlement which was loyally named Fredericksnagore after the reigning Sovereign, Frederick the Fifth of Denmark.

It was by no means a fortunate time that the Danes had chosen for re-establishing themselves in Bengal. Within nine months of the hoisting of the Danish flag at Serampore Suraj-ud-doula was hurrying down to Calcutta to wreak vengeance upon the English and his temporary success boded ill for the other European nations along the banks of the Hooghly. To him they owed their recent firman permitting them to set up their factory at Serampore, and his demand that they should get ready their "vessels of force" and come to his aid against the English was a difficult one to parry. Soctman however replied, doubtless with much truth though with some exaggeration, that, so far from having either horse,

foot or guns at his disposal, he was living miserably in a mud hut with only two or three menial servants to attend upon him. The little settlement struggling to find a footing must have watched the events of the hot weather and rainy season of that memorable year 1756 with growing anxiety. Their trade had not as yet had time to develop, and only one ship, the *King of Denmark*, had so far arrived from Tranquebar. They were thus ill equipped to pay the fine of Rs. 25,000 that Suraj-ud-doula after his triumphant return from Calcutta levied upon them for their failure to come to his support. In the war that followed between the English and the French their sympathies lay naturally with the latter to whom they were so much indebted, though, perhaps fortunately for themselves, they were not in a position to take any active part in the contest. When Chandernagore fell, however, they were able to offer an asylum to such of its garrison as sought refuge with them, thus returning something of the hospitality they had formerly enjoyed in the French Settlement in happier days.

Such partisanship was bound to bring the Danes into conflict with the English, and several entries in the proceedings of the Council at Calcutta show that Serampore was watched with a jealous eye. On the last of the year 1758 there is a complaint of the partiality of the Danes for the French, the Chief of the Serampore factory having sent a ship with provisions to Pondichery and himself acting as a means of communication between the French allowed to remain in Bengal and their main settlement. "In this," adds the indignant minute, "he only follows the example of his superior, the Governor of Tranquebar, who notoriously assisted Monsieur Lally in the attempt upon Tanjour; Accordingly the English Council determined that all the French refugees should be deported from Bengal, and to show its displeasure at the conduct of the Danes, their ship, the *King of Denmark*, was stopped on its way down the river. "The Danes so avoidedly assisting our enemies,"

wrote the English Council at Calcutta to the Council at Madras, "have obliged us to have a watchful eye over them, and to take the steps necessary to prevent their continuing such a conduct. This has occasioned several protests from them, though in justice they ought rather to have thanked us for our levity, since a single word from us to the Nawab would have been sufficient to have had them expelled from the province." On the 11th of January 1759 a letter was received by the Council from Mr. Ziegenbalg and the gentlemen of Fredericksnagore asking why their ship had been stopped and the reply sent was that "their partial behaviour towards the French and the help given by them to our enemies with provision, had forced us to watch their conduct carefully, and to detain their ship, but that if they please we will land their rice at Madras." A few days later came a reply complaint but resentful from the Danish Governor intimating that "they cannot but submit at present but that they hope to be redressed by Judges in Europe; that they cannot accept the proposal of landing their rice at Madras, and contracting with them for it, but they will solemnly declare that their ship is destined for Tranquebar only, that if they cannot trust them they can either escort her or send a Company with her, also that they would be answerable for any loss incurred by them on account of her detention." But the English Council was adamant, determined that provisions should not be carried to their enemies and the curt information was sent to the Danish Governor that one of their ships, the *Warren*, would sail for Madras in about a week and that they would send the Danish ship under her escort.

In spite of these somewhat strained relations the Danes eighteen months later wrote asking a favour of the English Council. They were in great fear, they reported, of an attack upon their settlement on the part of the Maharattas and they requested the English to grant them four pieces of cannon flints and ammunition for their defence. The

*English Council, still resentful and perhaps still suspicious,* replied that it regretted it could not comply with their request, adding with a touch of magnificence that the Danes need have no fear so long as the English Company under Captain Spears remained in their neighbourhood only a few miles away at Ghyretty.

It was through this same company of Sepoys that a further breach between the English and Danish settlements occurred a few years later, a breach that led almost to an actual outbreak of war. Captain Broadbull, who was in charge of the Sepoys at Ghyretty, related the story of it in a letter to his superior officer Major Adam, dated 20th February 1763. Two companies of Sepoys belonging to the first Battalion, having done their period of duty in Calcutta were on relief directed to rejoin their corps at the Ghyretty Cantonments. On the way thither, while passing through Serampore, a Jamadar, a Havildar and a Sepoy "loitered their time and stayed there till they lost their way." When they enquired the way of a "black fellow" he directed them wrong, and having to return and finding him still there they abused him roundly for having misled them. From abuse they came to blows and the local Police hearing of the disturbance hurried to the spot. Seizing the Jamadar, Havildar and Sepoy they carried them off to the Zemindar of the place, who after hearing numerous complaints, increased and exaggerated upon that occasion, without listening to anything they had to say, ordered them to be tied up and chaubucked though they had their regimentals on." A British Havildar receiving information of what had occurred hurriedly arrived on the scene and expostulated with the Zemindar requesting him not to punish them himself but to send them under a guard to their own officers who would punish them severely for any fault committed on Danish soil. The Zemindar, however, rudely replied that "he would first punish them, and then send them to their officers and he proceeded forthwith to chaubuck them before his face."

Captain Broadbull immediately reported the matter to his superior officer and under his instructions waited upon M. Demarchez, the chief of the Danish factory. M. Demarchez was however a Frenchman and not likely to be favourably disposed to the English who seven years before had taken Chandernagore and driven his countrymen out of Bengal. While he received the English Captain courteously and denied all knowledge of the occurrence saying that he was "out of the place" at the time and that it was the Zemindar to whom the administration of justice among the native inhabitants of Serampore was left and who was therefore responsible, he hastened to bring counter charges against the English Company's Sepoys. He stated that almost daily there were complaints from the townspeople of the soldiers from the cantonments committing depredations in the town and that he had made several representations to Colonel Coste "who never gave him any justice or satisfaction or ever took any notice of it."

Failing to obtain the redress that they thought the incident demanded, the English Council issued orders to the troops to invest the Danish Factory and bring the Danish Council to reason by a show of force. Faced by the fate that had so recently overtaken Chandernagore, there was no alternative but to give away, and the Danish Chief "did at last make the acknowledgement required." Whereupon the dignity of the English Council being satisfied, the Sepoys were withdrawn and this international embroil in miniature came to an end. The Court of Directors at home seem to have been doubtful of the wisdom of taking such strong measures over so trifling an occurrence. "They seem to have been guilty of an insult which required a suitable satisfaction," the Court wrote "but whether you should have proceeded so far as to invest their factory we cannot form a judgement until we are more fully informed from the papers which passed on the occasion." As the result, however, had been satisfactory the Court hopes to hear no more of the affair. "Your conjecture," the minute ends, "that

M. Demarchez, who is a native of France and is Chief of the Danish Factory, might have views to our prejudice in this transaction seems very probable. It will be necessary therefore to have a careful eye upon the conduct of the Danes thus influenced by him, at the same time we would have you avoid with the utmost care the proceeding to extremities."

Curiously enough within a few months the Danes who had so obstinately refused the English Council the apology it demanded, are found writing to ask help from Calcutta against the exactions of the Nawab. They complained that the new Fouzdar of Hooghly had made a demand on them for the quarterly tribute due from their factory although they had paid it only a few days before to the old Fouzdar, and on their refusal to pay again had stopped their bales of cloth. It is evident from this application how completely in the ascendant the English were, the other European nations gathered on the banks of the Hooghly looking to them to plead their case with the Nawab. The President of the English Council, doubtless pleased with the position of spokesman assigned to him, wrote immediately "to the Fouzdar to desist from his demand." Apparently the President's letter took effect for the moment, the Fouzdar Syed Buddul Khan, releasing the bales of cloth, but shortly afterwards he "stopped some more bales and would not let them pass." He likewise stopped and demanded duties on some cotton which a merchant was carrying for sale to Chander-nagore "with a merchant's dustuck" which is never subject to duties. Whereupon the English Council wrote direct to the Nawab, reminding of his undertaking to appoint someone to reside in Calcutta and treat with them on matters of business on his behalf. "Juggat Chand through whose hands I am honoured with your letters at present" adds the President of the Council whose dignity was evidently hurt, "is not fit for the business, but is a mere idler and in the same manner that he comes to me, he runs about to every house in town."

Beset with such difficulties, Danish trade was unable to make much headway. Stavorinus, visiting their settlement in 1769, speaks of it as "the most inconsiderable European establishment on the Ganges, consisting only, besides the villages occupied by the natives, in a few houses inhabited by Europeans. Their trade according to his account was of little importance, and they received only one or two ships every year from Europe while they had no country trade whatever." But better days were at hand for the Danish Colony. During the years of the American war, three of the great maritime nations of Europe were heavily involved—England, France and Holland. The trading ships of all these nations were therefore liable to attack and many were actually captured, several English vessels in particular falling into the hands of French privateers from Reunion and Mauritius. Rates of insurance rose considerably in consequence and neutral ships were eagerly sought after. The Danish ships being the only neutral European ones in Bengal became suddenly in great request, and whereas they had formerly had difficulty in securing freights at all owing to the competition of the English, French and Dutch, they now found themselves in the happy position of having these three nations competing for the shipment of their most valuable cargoes on Danish ships. So keen was the demand that the Danes could practically fix their own rates, and it is recorded that no fewer than "twenty-two ships, mostly of three masts and amounting in the aggregate to more than ten thousand tons, cleared out from the port in the short space of nine months."

There was also a further circumstance that gave an impetus to Danish trade. The factories of the English East India Company were not permitted to make their remittances home by bills on the Court of Directors, and there being no banking system on the modern principle by means of which remittances might be made they were compelled to remit their savings through the agency of foreign

ships. England being at war with both the French and the Dutch, the Danish ships were again consequently in great request. To escape the restrictions on private trade, moreover, Danish ships were often chartered, one such, the *Nathalia*, being freighted in 1779 for Suez with which port private trade was strictly forbidden. Fortune which had so long frowned upon their efforts in Bengal, had at last designed to smile upon them, and when she gave, she gave with no niggard hand. The profits made by the Danish East India Company were enormous, and it is small wonder that we read of high doings at Serampore in the prosperous years, Danish factors drawing nominally only two hundred rupees a month drinking champagne at eighty rupees a dozen, maintaining the style of a Member of Council and retiring after only a few years' service with ample fortunes.

With this advance in its fortunes Serampore took on a new lease of life. Pleasantly situated on the river bank it became a popular place of resort from Calcutta. It was only twelve miles from Calcutta and the journey up by the river was an enjoyable one. The hotels, we are told, were commodious and much in advance of anything Calcutta could boast at that time. In the *Calcutta Gazette* of the 16th of March 1786 there is an entry to the effect that "Mr. Parr, who formerly kept the London Tavern, had taken the new upper roomed house near the flag staff in Serampore" and that he had opened it as the "Denmark Hotel and Tavern." Two years later the same house again appears in the *Gazette* on April 30th, 1788, when it is advertised as "Late Parr's, John Nichols who formerly kept the Harmonic Tavern in Calcutta has taken that established and well-known Tavern in Serampore, lately kept by Mr. Parr."

It was, however, the coming of the famous Baptist Missionaries, Carey, Marshman and Ward that brought to Serampore its chief claim to lasting fame.

The neutrality which the Danish settlement had so long enjoyed came to an end in 1801. When hostilities broke out

between England and Denmark, Serampore was occupied without resistance and administered by English officials until it was restored in the following year by the Peace of Amiens. This brief interlude of misfortune seemed, however, only to add an impetus to its prosperity. The war between the English and the French was at its height. French privateers swarmed in the Bay of Bengal, rendering English shipping unsafe and forcing up the rates of insurance to an impossible height. The Calcutta merchants were eager to avail themselves of the very real help the Danish Company could afford them both by carrying goods on Danish ships and by allowing their own ships to sail under neutral Danish colours and providing them with Danish Commanders and Danish papers. The six years that followed the Peace of Amiens were consequently the most prosperous in the history of Danish Company in Serampore.

It was but a meticulous prosperity, however, due to its neutrality which gave it a free hand among its warring neighbours, and its downfall was sudden and complete. In 1808 Denmark was once more at war with England and for the second time Serampore was occupied by the English. Lord Minto, then Governor-General, on receiving the news of the outbreak of war from home at once despatched a company of British troops to take possession, his son Captain Elliot who was in command of the *Modeste* at the same time taking over the Danish ships lying in the river. The *Calcutta Gazette* of the 6th of February of that year officially notifies its peaceful acquisition. "In consequence of intelligence received by Government of a rupture between Great Britain and Denmark a detachment of troops from the Garrison of Fort William, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Cary, took possession of the Danish Settlement of Serampore, at six o'clock in the morning of the 28th ultimo. The Danish ships in the river Hooghly were, on the same day, taken possession of by the Hon'ble Captain Elliot, of H.M.S. *Modeste*, by Captain Montague, of H.M.S. *Terpsichore*, and by Captain Decourcy, of H.M.S. *Dasher*."

For seven years Serampore remained under British rule being administered by the Judge-Magistrate of Hooghly. How completely its prosperity had depended upon its position as a neutral power is shown by the fact that the revenue obtained from it had fallen to the petty sum of Rs. 13,231 for the year 1813-14. The settlement was restored to the Danes by the Peace of Kiel in 1815, but its glory had departed. It was a flourishing trading settlement that the Danes had lost seven years before, it was merely a strip of land on the banks of the Hooghly that peace restored to them. With the general peace that the treaty of Paris proclaimed the unique position as a neutral power was gone. Moreover with the cessation of hostilities the prosperity of the English Company increased by leaps and bounds, almost completely ousting its rivals on the banks of the Hooghly. Even the Hooghly itself on which the town had depended deserted them, a large shoal forming opposite the town and impeding the approach. So insignificant had the settlement become from a trading point of view that from the time it was restored to the Danes in 1815 until 1845 when they finally relinquished it to the English it is said that only one vessel visited the port. Even the two hundred chests of opium that the East India Company had formerly supplied to the Danish factory at cost price and which it had sold at a profit were now withheld, the Danes not having apparently stipulated for its continuance when peace was made, as the French had done in similar circumstances. So far from being a source of profit Serampore became only a considerable source of expense to the home government.

Socially, however, the Danish settlement continued to flourish. The cheapness of living there attracted many residents from Calcutta, of which it was within such easy reach, while, as in the case of Chandernagore, it offered an asylum to all such as had fallen foul of the East India Company. Debtors against whom judgment had been given in the English Courts escaped unpunished by a discreet

withdrawal on to Danish soil where they could at least enjoy immunity from arrest. So great a scandal did this become that an agreement was arrived at with the Danish Government in 1830 whereby debtors fleeing from decrees of the Calcutta Courts should no longer be given sanctuary in Serampore. In return for this concession, the East India Company withdrew what was known as the frontier duty which had practically prevented Danish trade with the interior.

Eight years after it had been restored to Denmark Serampore was visited by Bishop Heber, who describes it in his journal as "a handsome place kept beautifully clean and looking more like a European town than Calcutta." He was particularly struck with the vigorous administration of the Danish Governor, Colonel Krefting, who had been in Bengal for more than forty years. Shortly before the Bishop's visit Serampore had suffered from very severe floods which had entailed prompt measures to relieve the consequent distress. To add to the trouble a band of river dacoits had taken advantage of the floods to sweep down upon the settlement in their swift-going boats and deliver it over to loot and pillage. The Governor acted with commendable vigour. Bishop relating that "he took the field at the head of his dozen sepoys, his silver sticks, policemen and sundry volunteers to the amount of perhaps thirty killed some of the ruffians and took several prisoners whom he hanged next morning."

One of Bishop Heber's successors, Bishop Wilson, had a house at Serampore during practically the whole of his episcopate from 1830 to 1858. The house known as the Bishop's Palace, still stands on the river bank, a fine two-storied building with large lofty rooms, which must have furnished a pleasant week-end retreat from Calcutta. There are still some old inhabitants of Serampore who remember the Bishop driving and walking through the streets of Serampore. One such describes how affably the Bishop

always returned his salutes until one day he discovered that he was a Roman Catholic, after which the Bishop passed him by with only the coldest recognitions.

Twenty-three years later on the eve of the final withdrawal of the Danish Company we get another glimpse of Serampore, this time from the pen of an Indian writer. Bhola Nath Sen in his "Travels of a Hindu" describes it as a sunny little town that possesses an exceeding elegance and neatness of appearance. The range of houses along the river makes up a gay and brilliant picture. The interior keeps the promise which a distant has given. The streets are as brightly clean as the walks in the garden. There is not much bustle or activity, the place greatly wears the character of a suburban retreat. But time was when there was a busy trade and 22 ships cleared from the small port in the space of six months.

But the Danish Government at home was finding its Indian Settlements a severe strain upon its resources. So far from proving a source of profit Serampore had long been a constant drain upon its exchequer and Tranquebar was no greater a success financially. So wisely it faced the inevitable and approached the British Company with a view to handing over both its Indian Settlements. Terms were eventually arranged, the Danes relinquishing both Serampore and Tranquebar in consideration of money payment. Fredericksnagore consisted of sixty bighas of land, with the adjoining villages of Serampore, Akna and Pearapore, for which an annual rent of one thousand six hundred and one sicca rupees was due to the Zemindars of Seoraphuli. The following buildings were scheduled in the Treaty as being public property and as passing to the East India Company by the transfer—the Government House, the Secretary's house and offices, the Court house with jail compound, the church commonly called the Danish Church, the bazar consisting more or less 6 bighas and 13 cottahs with a range of godowns on the north side and two godowns

on the west side, the remaining part of the ground being occupied by private godowns, the owners paying an annual ground rent and two small brick built guard houses on the bank of the river. The Serampore College, the Roman Catholic Church and the Native Hospital having been built by private funds were expressly excluded from the transfer. "The rights and immunities granted to the Serampore College by Royal Charter of date 23rd of February 1827, shall not be interfered with but continue in force in the same manner as if they had been obtained by a charter from the British Government subject to the general law of British India. It is interesting to note that one of the rights bestowed by the King of Denmark in 1827 was the right to confer theological degrees. This right was never exercised during the remaining years of the Danish occupation and lay dormant until exercised for the first time in 1915, eighty-eight years after it had been granted.

The treaty concluded on February 22nd, 1845, was signed on behalf of the Danish Company by Peter Hansen, Councillor of State, Governor of His Majesty's Danish Possessions in India, Knight of the Order of Danneborg. It was finally ratified on the 6th of October following, the settlement being formerly handed over five days later. Messrs. Harvey and Bayley were appointed Commissioners to take over charge on behalf of the East India Company and to make the necessary readjustments consequent upon the change of ownership. As few changes as possible were made at the outset, the chief reform being the immediate abolition of certain taxes and cesses which were opposed to the practice in force elsewhere in Bengal under British rule, such as marriage fees, bazaar and auction duties and a tax on pan and betel. The land revenue amounted only to Rs. 9,088, out of which Rs. 2,632 was paid as rent to various persons by the Danish Company. These payments are still made, the land revenue being the same to-day as in the days

of the Danish occupation. The scale of fees on the issue and renewal of leases also remains the same, the regulation of the 9th of December 1839 which fixed it still being preserved among the Serampore records. A new subdivision of the Hooghly District had been formed earlier in the year 1845 with headquarters at Dwarhatta in the interior, but on Serampore being acquired it became the headquarters of the subdivision, Mr. I. Jackson, afterwards Sir Louis Jackson, Judge of the Calcutta High Court, being the first Subdivisional Officer.

Serampore still remains to-day a pleasant little river side station. The front along the river bank has a charming outlook with long stretches of the river in view to north and south and Barrackpore pleasantly situated on the further bank across a broad expanse of water. Many of the old Danish houses still survive, solid and picturesque, a gracious relief from the modern buildings in which a later generation has sacrificed beauty to utility. Within the town itself there are many reminders of the past. The English Church with its beautiful spire is an unusual sight in India giving the place a delightfully home-like touch. It is said that the Marquis Wellesley when giving his contribution of one thousand rupees towards the building of it remarked that the only thing wanting to his residence at Barrackpore to remind him of home was the distant view of a church steeple. Accordingly a steeple was substituted for the previously intended tower. It was originally built by the Danes as a Lutheran Church dedicated to St. Olaf, the funds being raised by public subscription through the exertions of Colonel Bie, the Governor. Of the Rs. 18,500 needed to complete it, Rs. 8,000 was raised in Calcutta, the remainder being contributed in Serampore and Denmark. It is a curious fact that though built by the Danes no Danish minister apparently ever held service in it. No sooner had it been constructed, than war broke out between England and Denmark and Serampore was annexed by the English Company. Consequently no

*Danish chaplain* was appointed and when Serampore was restored to the Danish Company, no appointment was made owing to the small number of Danes left in the settlement, and to the fact that the Serampore Missionaries offered to conduct service there. This they continued to do until Serampore was finally taken over by the English in 1845 when an official chaplain was appointed. It is recorded in the *Calcutta Review* of 1846 that the only property belonging to the Church at the time it was handed over were two large silver candlesticks presented in 1803 by Mr. Schow. "According to the usual custom," runs the article, "these candles were placed on the altar for six months, when the church was covered with the insignia of mourning on the death of the late King, and regularly lighted up during the hours of divine service. But as this exhibition of lighted candles in the day on such an occasion was in conformity with national usage and not connected with superstitious associations, the late Mr. Mack raised no manner of objection to their introduction, nor were they found to weaken the effort of his admirable discourses."

The College erected in 1818 is a splendid building facing the river. Situated in a fine compound, the main building with its immense Gothic pillars is one hundred and thirty feet in length and one hundred and twenty in depth. An imposing flight of steps leads into a lofty hall, from which on either side a handsome staircase, presented by Frederick the Sixth, King of Denmark, leads to the upper floor. The centre rooms, above and below, are palatial, the lower one now forming the library which contains a large and interesting collection of books, some of the original translations of the Bible into Indian language in the handwriting of the first Serampore Missionaries being of special interest. In one room beside the library are collected many personal relics of the missionaries, the pulpit from which they preached their famous sermons which had such wide reaching effect, their much-used chairs, the crutches that were

Carey's support in later life, and the original royal charter of the College granted to them in 1827. Upstairs there are several oil paintings, including those of Frederick the Sixth, King of Denmark, the special benefactor of the mission and his consort, the famous picture supposed for so long to be a portrait of Princess Augusta of Denmark. In both library below and meeting hall above there are some delightful pieces of furniture of a hundred years ago.

The Roman Catholic Church, though the oldest of the Christian buildings in Serampore, is not architecturally noteworthy. It was built during the Danish occupation in 1776 with the help of the rich Catholic family of Baretto from Calcutta. An earlier Church, built in 1764, stood on the same site, but this was removed as too small for the congregation and replaced by the present structure. The third Church now existing in Serampore is the Baptist Chapel which was originally a secular building purchased by the Missionaries in 1800 and converted into a Chapel. It was here that Carey, Marshman and Ward preached during a period that covered in all forty-five years.

There are two cemeteries both of them of special interest. The one plain and severe, befitting the retiring place of the great missionaries, the keynote of whose career was strenuous toil and great simplicity, contains the remains of Carey, Marshman and Ward along with those of many of their relatives, a wonderful gathering of great and famous dead. The other cemetery, the old Danish one, is picturesque with the pomp of its massive monuments, impressive with all the trappings with which an older generation loved to invest its dead. Here lies Governor Colonel Kretting, who died in 1828 after forty-four years' service in India, a fine old soldier and administrator. His successor in the Governorship also lies here, M. Hohlenberg, who died in 1833 after five years' tenure of office.

South of the main town of Serampore, on the river, are two interesting buildings each with a strongly varied history.

The one known as Aldeen House must once have been a fine building with its terraced front right on the river bank. Its origin is lost in obscurity. The local story is that the house was built in Muhammádan times prior to the Danish settlement and that it was formerly used for religious purposes, hence the name din. The house was for several years the property and residence of the Rev. David Brown, Provost of Fort William, the friend of Carey, Marshman and Ward. Within the compound of Aldeen House is the other interesting building referred to. It too stands right on the river bank, a landmark for up and down the river. It was originally a Hindu temple dedicated to Radhaballav, abandoned when the river encroached upon the bank below it and threatened to engulf it. It was purchased by the Rev. David Brown and was used by him for devotional purposes, the Hindu temple becoming a Christian place of prayer. When the Rev. Henry Martyn came to Serampore as Chaplain in 1805 he spent much of his time in this Pagoda, fitting it up with an organ and holding services here in which the other missionaries of all denominations joined. In the years that followed Mr. Brown's death in 1812 further vicissitudes befell the old Pagoda in other hands, the "Pagoda Distillery brand" becoming well known as the name of a brand of rum manufactured in it. It was felt, however, that a building associated with the revered name of Henry Martyn and which had once been used for religious purposes should be rescued from further desecration, and Lord Lawrence when visiting as Governor-General having expressed a wish to this effect the distillery was removed, and the building has since been kept in repairs by Government as one of its protected buildings.

Round the Radhaballav Temple at Ballabhpur on the southern outskirts of Serampore many traditions linger. It is said to have been found by one Rudra Pundit, a man of wealth and influence, who withdrew from the world to live a hermit's life at Ballavpur, which was then covered with

dense jungle. In a dream the God Radhaballav himself appeared to him and directed him to proceed to Gaur, then the capital city of Bengal, and, obtaining a slab of stone from the gateway of the Viceroy's palace, bring it back to Ballavpur and fashion an image out of it. The devotee hastened to comply with these instructions and on reaching Gaur and telling his story to the Viceroy and his Prime Minister obtained permission to remove a slab. On proceeding to the gateway they were astonished to see that drops of water were issuing from one of the slabs and it was at once agreed that this must be the slab indicated by Radhaballav. Permission was at once given to Rudra Pundit to remove it, but thereupon arose a difficulty as to how he should transport it the long journey to Ballavpur, a difficulty only overcome by the god himself who again appeared to his favoured disciple, telling him not to worry over the matter but to return home and there wait the arrival of the stone. Rudra hastened once more to carry out the god's instructions and soon after his return home as he was bathing at the river ghat the stone miraculously arrived having floated downstream from Gaur.

It only remained for Rudra to fashion the stone into the image of the god, which with the help of the sculptor he did so successfully that to this day it is famous in Bengal for its beauty. Hearing of its miraculous origin, devotees soon flocked to worship at its shrine and with their offerings Rudra Pundit was enabled to build a temple worthy of the god. The building that he erected is the one now known as the Pagoda already described and which was in later times deserted owing to the encroachments of the river, no Brahmin being allowed to receive a gift or partake of a meal within three hundred feet of the sacred stream. The image was removed to another temple erected to contain it a quarter of a mile away at the expense of the wealthy Mallik family of Calcutta. The adventures of the idol, however, were not yet over. Raja Nabakissen, Lord Clive's Munshi,

one of the first Indians to attain a position of wealth and influence under the new British *régime*, desired to perform his mother's obsequies with something more than customary state. He accordingly conceived the idea of bringing down to his house in Calcutta the three most famous images in the vicinity, those at Agradwip, Chardah and Ballavpur. So great was his influence and doubtless so large was the pecuniary temptation he offered that he succeeded in inducing those concerned to consent to this very unusual step of allowing the images to be removed from their shrines and escorted with much ceremony to the river bank. They were placed on a raft and conveyed down to Calcutta, the priests bearing them on their shoulders throughout the journey so that they might not be defiled by the touch of any save those of the highest caste. The *shradh* ceremonies over, Raja Nabakissen returned the other two images but retained that of Radhaballavpur, so greatly taken was he with his beauty. Repeated requests for its return failed of effect and the priests were at last compelled to threaten the Raja with a curse unless it was restored. The Raja's wife hearing of the Brahmins' threats at last prevailed upon him to part with the image and it was finally restored to its shrine, the Raja endowing it with the village of Ballavpur which still yields to the temple an income of about eight hundred rupees a year. The famous image has since reposed undisturbed within the temple at Ballavpur save only for a brief space annually at the Rath Jatra festival when it is taken out and drawn upon an enormous car to reside for a time at another temple some few hundred yards away.

Close by, further south along the Grand Trunk Road, is a still more famous temple, the Temple of Jagarnath, at Mahesh. Mahesh itself is a place of considerable antiquity being mentioned in the poem written by Bipro Das in 1495 A.D. It is also mentioned in the legend of Satya Narain in the eighteenth century, but it is worship of Jagarnath that has given it its importance. The Rath Jatra is the most

important festival of its kind in India outside Puri, the home and centre of Jagarnath worship. There is a legend that the god Jagarnath halted at Mahesh on his way to Puri and bathed and dined there. Hence the place was regarded as sacred and all the religious ceremonies at Puri were introduced. A temple was built and endowed, and the fame of the Rath Jatra celebrations soon attracted enormous crowds annually. The festival usually falls soon after the commencement of the rains and provides a wonderful spectacle. The Grand Trunk Road here is of a great width and the whole roadway is packed with a seething mass of humanity, men and women and children, gay clad and good humouredly jostling one another in the heat and the mud of the roadway. Outside the temple an enormous car is drawn up. Then the auspicious and appointed hour having come, with much ceremony the god is carried by the priests from his shrine in the temple and placed upon it. Four enormous ropes a hundred feet long have been already attached to the car and great is the competition among the worshippers to get a hand upon them and assist in dragging the god to his temporary residence further on along the Grand Trunk Road. It is an imposing sight as the great car, towering aloft and gaily decked in tinsel and red and gold with the god seated immovable in its midst, moves slowly on its appointed way, the great crowds shouting in their excitement, the men pulling all together with hoarse cries of encouragement and directed by attendants on the car itself who from time to time fire a gun to give the signal to them for renewed and united efforts. So heavy is the car that even the hundred willing helpers who crowd along the ropes can only move it a few paces at a time and so cumbersome is it that it needs the most careful guiding. Viewed from the roof of one of the buildings *en route* it is a never to be forgotten sight. Even to one to whom the religious rite of it is meaningless there is a something strangely moving in the vast crowds, the swinging car, the weird cries and the intense

enthusiasm, utterly regardless of the heat or the falling rain, the mud or the physical discomfort generally. Moving about amidst the throng are numberless itinerant vendors with many kinds of wares for sale, from appetising sweetmeats to gay strings of beads for personal adornment. Booths line the roads on either side exhibiting a motley array of things desirable in pilgrim eyes and at night when the religious portion of the festival is over a great trade is done.

There are many other interesting glimpses of Serampore from the great modern jute and cotton mills to the hand weaving and dyeing works which are still carried on under strangely primitive conditions in modern days. The weavers are a numerous class here, and their cloths manufactured by hand still hold their own in spite of the competition of machine-made goods. Government desiring to improve their methods has established a Weaving School here to which weavers from all parts of India come for instruction. It is a most interesting institution, housed in one of the old Danish residences on the river front, and busy with noise of many looms. Weaving of many kinds is taught and men from as far away as Poona and Madras have come to acquire the art and learn the latest processes on the most suitable and profitable looms that modern ingenuity can devise. The printing and dyeing works are a wonderful example of what unaided native industry can accomplish under the most primitive conditions. Everything is done by hand, the silk being stamped with wooden blocks cut and manipulated by hand and the actual dyeing, after the stamping and washing processes have been completed, being done in a large cauldron over an open fire. The results are excellent, the Serampore silk handkerchiefs and *chadars* being in great demand for home use and also for export in large quantities outside India. It is a flourishing industry that modern competition and modern methods have not killed.

*Bhagdad.*

F. B. BRADLEY BIRT.

## REVIEWS OF BOOKS.

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### THE WORKS OF RAI SAHIB DINESH CHANDRA SEN. (Calcutta University Press.)

Some of the works of this distinguished writer on Bengali literature have recently come into our hands for the purposes of review. They are the continuation of his great work on "The History of Bengali Language and Literature" which made its appearance so long ago as 1896 and the later works show that the intervening years have been filled to overflowing with patient investigation and scholarly appreciation. In two bulky volumes (of over 900 pages each) the Rai Sahib has gathered together typical selections from Bengali literature from the earliest times to the middle of the 19th century. In an interesting introduction he tells the story of his wanderings over Eastern Bengal, searching for MSS. of ancient songs. It was not an easy task, as the MSS. were usually to be found in out-of-the-way villages and in the ownership of ignorant cultivators, who were unable to appreciate their treasures but at the same time had a superstitious regard for them and were most reluctant to give them up. An enormous number of MSS. have, nevertheless, been collected, and the Rai Sahib and his assistants have earned the gratitude of their fellow-countrymen for the services rendered in preserving these voluminous records of early Bengali literature. The quantity of this literature will be a revelation to many. The Rai Sahib explains that the publication of all the material collected would be an almost impossible task. He has, therefore, under the guidance and advice of Sir Ashutosh Mookerjee and with the assistance of the University of Calcutta, set himself to the preparation of an anthology. The result of his labours are the two volumes to which we have referred and they will become a veritable mine of information for many subsequent scholars. The selections are not arranged chronologically, but according to topics, the list of which is a long one. The selections made have involved the study of over 2,000 MSS.

In two smaller volumes more recently published the Rai Sahib has devoted himself more exclusively to the study of Vaisnava literature. The *Vaisnava Literature of Mediæval Bengal* is a most interesting account of the literature which grew up round Chaitanya himself and was developed by his successors. The book is enriched by a scholarly introduction from the pen of Mr. J. D. Anderson, I.C.S. (Rtd.). The fourth chapter is probably the most valuable part of the book and gives us an elaborate analysis of Vaisnava theological ideas. It will probably lead to a more liberal estimate of some of the practices connected with the sects, but a spiritual interpretation does not destroy the possibility of danger arising from ~~such~~ beliefs and practices. The concluding section of the book discusses in a useful manner the interaction of Christian and Vaisnava beliefs. In *Chaitanya and His Companions* the Rai Sahib has approached his subject from a more popular point of view and has given us a fascinating account of some of the leading members of the school of Chaitanya. Altogether the works which are here noticed should do a very great deal towards rendering materials for an estimate of Chaitanya and Vaisnavism generally more accessible to the ordinary reader.

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THE GREEN MIRROR.—By Hugh Walpole. (Macmillan's Empire Library.)

This story moves quietly, and it is part of the art of the writer that it should do so. The important point is that what seems at first sight to be immovable, does actually move. A young man, Philip Marks, who has "seen life" in Moscow, suddenly irrupts into an exceedingly conventional middle class London family. The Trenchards have lived for themselves for generations and they have little belief in anything outside the "family." Marks falls in love with the daughter of the house, who is the mainstay of the clan, and possessed of more sense than all her relatives put together. The plot of the story is the duel which goes on between the family and Marks. Is he to take their beloved Katherine away, or are they to absorb Marks. At first it looks as if he would win, and then it looks as if he wouldn't. He appears to be strong, but the eider-down quiltiness of the family is about to smother him, when in the end Katherine herself comes to the rescue and tells him that if he is to continue to be the strong man she thought she

loved, he must get away from her family. She wins. The old grandfather who is supposed to be the incarnation of the family tradition dies suddenly, the future mother-in-law refuses to surrender, but at the close of the book, the other members of the family, some of them tolerable people and some of them impossible, are undergoing transformations in various directions. The Green Mirror, symbol of stationariness and narrow range, has been smashed, and the Trenchard family of former times has ceased to exist, greatly to its own and other people's advantage. It is a striking book. The characters are clearly defined and life-like and only occasionally are they exaggerated.

**THE CHILD IN HUMAN PROGRESS.**—By George Henry Payne. (Messrs. G. P. Putnam's Sons.)

Dr. Jacobi in his foreword claims that this book is unique as being a special monograph on the social existence of the child through thousands of years of slow physical, domestic and economic development. The welfare of the child in all its aspects has been the subject, in recent years, of an ever-increasing number of books. To the study of these this history forms an admirable introduction, throwing into sharp contrast the traditional and modern views of the child's place in the nation. The idea of the child as an individual with rights of his own is one that is only dawning upon mankind, and, along with the altered attitude to woman and labour, is becoming one of the most signal features of the new age. The three have become so closely bound together that a nation's claim to enlightenment is largely measured at the present moment by its position with regard to them.

Reading this history which surveys the record of cultured and savage races back to the most primitive ages, one is forced to the conclusion that, in spite of the fact that the maternal instinct has been the chief humanising influence in the race it has failed, perhaps owing to the subjection of woman, to protect the child from injustice, callousness, and deliberate cruelty and brutality. A few years ago we might have consoled ourselves with the thought that the wrongs of children belong to the dark ages before civilization, and to half barbarous races. But the past four years of war have revealed how much man has still to learn of

humanity where the child is concerned. Man, "the most ferocious of all animals," as Clement of Alexandria describes him, has revealed once more the tendency to wreak his cruelty on the weak and defenceless. It is a melancholy reflection also, that, apart from these more glaring instances of wrong, the domestic and industrial annals of the most advanced nations can furnish incidents that are heartrending of what amounts to the enslavement of children.

The enactments to prevent the exploitation of child labour are of very recent date. But, fortunately, within recent years, the championship of children has been so ardent that it is now taken as a matter of course that the child must be protected by the State even from his own parents if need be.

A section of the book deals with the gradual development of a humaner impulse towards children. It is the glory of the Semitic races that their greatest teachers, Jesus Christ and Mahomet, showed a deeper and tenderer insight into the claims of childhood than any other thinkers. Mahomet may have derived his injunctions about children from the Christian tradition, for the early church can claim as one of its outstanding triumphs a championship of slaves, women and children unparalleled in history; and it is her disciples, like St. Vincent de Paul and Lord Shaftesbury, who have been the heroes in the battle for children's rights.

Civilized society has moved some distance from the belief in the absolute right of parents to sacrifice the life of their male children for religious, or their female children for economic reasons, to expose superfluous infants and sell their sons and daughters into salvery to relieve their own needs. These practices are found almost universally in the history of races at an early stage. But from the moral point of view there does not seem to be any difference except one of degree between these practices and the destruction of lives conceived but never suffered to be born. This dark blot on present day civilization was early condemned by the church which holds life sacred at every stage. The rights of children cannot be separated from the question of the just rights of men and women and their unjust claims—especially the claim to call into existence lives that are not desired and for which destruction at an early stage, or injustice at a later, are awaiting.

This book, by a plain statement of historic facts and without pointing the moral, is a moving document and furnishes every champion of childhood with a weapon of offence against the wrongs of children.

## PERIODICALS.

### THE QUARTERLY REVIEW.—October 1918.

The *Quarterly* has escaped the fate of many of the periodicals of the last few months of the year: its material has not been put out of date by the armistice. Indeed several of the articles are even more appropriate now than they would have been if the armistice had not been signed at such an unexpectedly early date. This is specially the case with the further discussion of "The Principles of Reconstruction" which is undertaken by Ernest Fayle. He draws a clear line of distinction between emergency legislation and measures for permanent reconstruction and urges that the needs of the moment should not have undue emphasis and prevent proper attention to requirements which emerge more slowly. He also protests against unnecessary breaches of continuity with past tradition, involving the abolition of institutions whose usefulness has not ceased and an unjustifiable comparison of brand-new schemes, in regard to which the weakness of human nature has not yet been shown, with those which, by being already put in practice, have illustrated the dictum that "to err is human." A former Lieutenant-Governor of Nigeria contributes an illuminating article on the "Government of Native Races" in which he discusses the rival claims of "direct" and "indirect" Government, and gives his support almost unreservedly to the latter, even though the support of existing institutions rather than the creation of an entirely new set of officials centrally responsible, may involve a temporary sacrifice of efficiency. The article on "Is India a Nation" treats of well-worn themes such as diversity of language, caste distinctions, and reaches little in the way of new conclusions. Mr. Valentine Chirol's article on "Constitutional Reform in India" will be regarded by many as the most important item in the current number. The article is expository rather than critical, and its tone is on the whole favourable

to the reforms, which it describes as a "carefully thought-out scheme" and regards as acceptable on the whole to all but the Extremists on both sides. It criticises, however, the form in which the authority of the Government of India is retained and objects to the coupling the assertion of this authority in the Council of State with "the irritating farce of an official majority voting to order." It is further urged that the relations between the British Government and the Government of India are left unsatisfactory, inasmuch as they may involve the Viceroy in the defence of a policy of which both he and his Government unreservedly disapprove. Historical students will find much of interest in the article on "The English in the Levant," another contribution to the romance of early mercantile enterprise. Much true literary insight is displayed in the well-written article on "War Poetry" by Mr. Arthur Waugh, in which it is pointed out that this war has given the death-blow to conventional glorification of war; and has also shown that mere realism, untouched by imagination, cannot supply adequate poetic material. The writer shows how poetic development in the course of the war has, roughly speaking, passed through three phases. There is first of all the sense of a cause, then a certain amount of self-pity and self-consciousness and finally an absorption in the machinery of war and "a gradual appreciation of that complex machine as a collection of human characters, combining into a unity in which self is merged absolutely in a sense of common purpose and mutual obligation." This war has not been like other wars in which the poets stood outside the fiery trial of battle, carefully concealed the sordidness, and made ballads about the glory of war. "For the first time we have had the clear lights of intellect and interpretation playing upon the battlefield; and, whatever may be thought of the gain or loss to poetry, there can be no question about the extraordinary actuality of this new presentment, about its sincerity, or about the arresting revelation which it affords of the evil and horror of modern warfare between civilised communities."

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INDIAN NATIONALITY.

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II.

3. In my first article on this subject I examined the national "unities" of race and language. I proceed now to examine in turn the other base of nationality, the first being religion.

According to Sir Edward Gait's division in the last Census Report (1911) the religions of India may be divided into five main classes, Indo-Aryan, Iranian, Semitic, Primitive and Miscellaneous. Of these the Indo-Aryan branch, which includes Hindus, Sikhs, Jains and Buddhists, claims close on 232,571,000 adherents, Hindus being nearly 217,587,000 in number, Sikhs 3,014,500, Jains 1,248,182 and Buddhists 10,722,000. The Iranian (Parsi) religion numbers 100,000; the Semitic, including Mahomedan, Christian and Jews, numbers 70,545,000, of which 66,647,000 are Mahomedan, 3,876,000 Christian, and 20,980 Jews. The Primitive or Animistic religions have 10,295,000 adherents, and minor religions (Miscellaneous) have 37,000.

Before proceeding to examine the political bearings of the different religions, I must first mention some notable features in the religious classification of India. One of the

most important things to note is that with the exception of Mahomedanism, Christianity, Zoroastrianism and Judaism, no absolute line of religious demarcation can be drawn. There is no definite Hindu creed. The word *dharma* which is usually translated religion refers more to conduct than to belief. The *dharma* of one individual is different from the *dharma* of another not because he believes in this or that god or book, but because he lives in this or that way. It is of little consequence to a Hindu whether a meat-eater believes in Christ or Mahomed. He is a meat-eater, a man from whose hands the Hindu cannot take water. It is of no importance to a high caste Hindu whether a sweeper professes himself to be a Hindu, or actually is a Moslem or Christian : he is an outcaste, whose touch defiles. Among the lower classes many people who never heard the name of Christ are called *Kristans*, because they do things which only the *Kristan* sahibs do. They do not observe the rules of caste, therefore they belong to the casteless Christians.

To the Hindu, therefore, the theory of religion is not of the first importance. Provided that the individual concerned observes the proper caste ceremonial, it does not matter which god or how many thousands of gods he worships. Tolerance in matters of religious belief is accompanied by a corresponding intolerance in matters of conduct. This point is of considerable importance in the political study before us. It is popularly believed that Hinduism as a religion is a close corporation, that, as contrasted with Mahomedanism and Christianity, it is non-proselytising, non-missionary. Hinduism is a close corporation, but not in religious belief. It is a close *social* corporation. There are innumerable millions of actual or possible gods in the Hindu pantheon. The individual worshipper may choose whom he will as his gods, but his social actions are closely circumscribed by the strict rules of his caste.

In Hinduism there are innumerable sects, but these sects are so vague that it would be incorrect to speak of Hinduism as a religion of sects. Only a small number of Hindus belong to definite sects, and it is questionable if many of those could tell clearly wherein their particular sect differed from other sects. In the Census for 1901, in one province only one Hindu out of nine, and in two others only one in four and one in five, respectively, declared that they belonged to a particular sect. In the 1911 Census the number of persons belonging to a certain sect rose to three times the number recorded in the previous Census, but Sir Edward Gait explains this by the fact that the sect in question happened to be mentioned in the instructions to the enumerators as a type of the answer expected under the heading. When, however, a sect adopts a programme of social or political change, a definite cleavage is established in Hinduism. Thus Buddhism, by renouncing the supremacy of Brahmans, Jainism, by denying the authority of the Vedas, and Sikhism, which, led by Guru Gobind Singh, repudiated many Hindu caste scruples and aimed at political power, have become distinct religions. In India the Buddhists are very few, only about one-third of a million, and the balance of the 10·7 millions live in Burma. The boundary lines between Jainism, Sikhism and Hinduism, which are usually regarded as distinct religions, are by no means clear. Thus Sikhism and Jainism share with Hinduism the belief in *karma* and metempsychosis. The Jains also employ Brahmans in domestic ceremonies, but they are limited to twenty-four saints. Many Jains actually call themselves Hindus, but the real Jain is easily discoverable by certain tests, whereas it is almost impossible to lay down tests to discover *pucca* Hindus.

Hinduism, therefore, is closely related to both Sikhism and Jainism. In Hinduism itself there is the greatest variation of type: in fact neither Hindus themselves nor scholars who have studied Hinduism have been able to give

a universally acceptable definition of Hinduism. "When a man tells me he is a Hindu," said Sir Alfred Lyall, "I know that he means . . . religion, parentage and country. Hinduism is not exclusively a religious denomination, but denotes also a country and, to a certain extent, a race. . . . Hinduism is a matter of birthright and inheritance . . . it means a civil community quite as much as a religious association. A man does not become a Hindu, but is born a Hindu." Quoting these remarks, Sir Edward Gait, in the 1911 Census Report, gives a very instructive analysis of the various opinions of leading Indians consulted by Census officers regarding the distinguishing marks of Hinduism. Incidentally it may be remarked that, in the words of the Census Report, "the enquiry generated a certain amount of heat, because unfortunately it happened to be made at a time when the rival claims of Hindus and Mahomedans to representation on Legislative Councils were being debated, and some of the former feared that it would lead to the exclusion of certain classes from the category of Hindus, and would thus react unfavourably on their political importance."

The Census analysis revealed the most extraordinary divergence of opinion among Hindus themselves as to the essentials of Hinduism. Some looked on Hinduism as a mere matter of country, saying that everybody in India who is not a Christian or Mahomedan is a Hindu. The basis of this view is the connexion between the words Hindu and Indus, the name Hindu having been given by the Moslem invaders of India to those who lived near the Indus. Obviously this does not explain why those living in India as far from the Indus as London is from Greece are Hindus, nor does it give the slightest clue to the explanation of what are now obvious essentials of Hinduism, *viz.*, caste, with the supremacy of the Brahmans, and the sacred nature of the cow. Others, again, said that Hindu denoted a particular race, being the equivalent of Aryan. From this point of

view the four original castes were the parent stock of all the present castes. The holders of this view accordingly classified as Hindus, Jains, Sikhs and Buddhists, and excluded from Hinduism such as the Bhils, Todas and Mundas. The race test for caste is utterly impossible. Not only are many of the same stock as the Hindu upper castes Moslems or Christians, but a very large proportion of Hindus in Madras and Bengal are Dravidian or a mixture of Mongols and Dravidians. Anthropometrical tests prove conclusively that racial homogeneity is not characteristic of Hinduism. Others gave religious creed as the crucial characteristic, but there was little agreement as to what was the essential elements in the Hindu creed. Every adherent of Mahomedanism and Christianity can at once put his finger on the essential points of his religious creed. Not so the Hindu. Some say that *karma* and metempsychosis are essential ; some say the *Vedas* are the Hindu Bible ; some say all the Hindu scriptures, excluding the Tantras. In actual practice what happens is that if a Hindu is a member of a caste, if he observes his caste rules, he is a Hindu whatever may be his theology.

In the Census of 1911, ten points were laid down to test the orthodoxy of Hindu practice in relation to the acceptance by general opinion as well as the castes themselves of the name of Hindu. These tests were given to Provincial Superintendents of Census operations, with instructions to prepare a list of all but the minor castes which *qua* castes (1) deny the supremacy of the Brahmans ; (2) do not receive the *mantra* from a Brahman or other recognised Hindu guru ; (3) deny the authority of the *Vedas* ; (4) do not worship the great Hindu gods ; (5) are not served by good Brahmans as family priests ; (6) have no Brahman priests at all ; (7) are denied access to the interior of ordinary Hindu temples ; (8) cause pollution, (a) by touch, (b) within a certain distance ; (9) bury their dead ; and (10) eat beef and do not reverence the cow.

These tests when applied revealed a very large number of partly assimilated Hindus. In Bengal, Behar and Orissa fifty-nine castes, of which seven are over a million strong, do not conform to all the tests, and fourteen beef-eating castes are denied entrance to temples. In the Central Provinces and Berar one-quarter of the total number of Hindus deny the supremacy of the Brahmans and the authority of the Vedas. More than half do not receive the *mantra* from a recognised Hindu priest, and a third are denied access to the temples ; a quarter cause pollution by touch ; a seventh bury their dead ; and two-fifths eat beef. In the Punjab about one-quarter of the total Hindu population cause pollution by touch, and these also are denied the ministrations of good Brahmans and entrance to the temples.

Enough has been said to show the extraordinary diversity possible within the term Hinduism. No other religion in the world could accept as adherents people with so many differences in both tenets and customs. Hinduism is a facile religion ; its embrace is capacious. But Hindu India is a land of antinomies. Toleration in religious profession co-exists with the most rigid social intolerance in the world. Universalism in religion in practice is the narrowest particularism. Yet in a sense the intolerance is the outcome of toleration. In India the racial problem was met not by extirpation, but by toleration, as Sir Rabindranath Tagore says (in his *Nationalism*). "Her caste system is the outcome of this spirit of toleration. For India has all along been trying experiments in evolving a social unity within which all the different peoples could be held together, while fully enjoying the freedom of their own differences. The tie has been as loose as possible, yet as close as the circumstances permitted. This has produced something like a United States of a social federation, whose common name is Hinduism."

Though Hinduism and Mahomedanism are ordinarily regarded as antagonistic, it may be noted that in the lower

classes the boundary line between Hindus and Mahomedans is by no means clear. There are many Hindus of the lower classes whose Hinduism contains a considerable flavour of Mahomedanism. Thus the Hindu followers of the Panchpiriya cult worship five Mahomedan saints. Hindus frequently make pilgrimages to Mahomedan shrines. On the other hand, many Mahomedan converts from Hinduism have preserved much of their old Hinduism. Thus the Malkhanas of the Agra District, who are of Rajput, Jat or Bania descent, are half Hindu and half Mussulman. They worship in both temples and mosques, they have Hindu names and are endogamous, but they practise circumcision, bury their dead and eat with Mussulmans. They use the salutation Ram, Ram, but prefer being addressed as Mian Thakur. In Gujarat the Matia Kunbis call in Brahmans for ceremonial purposes, but follow the Pirana saint Imam Shah, and the Sheikhadas employ both Hindu and Mahomedan priests. Some tribes, as the Ahirs, are partly Hindu and partly Mahomedan.

Many other similar instances exist. The great majority of Indian Mahomedans were originally Hindus, and Hindu customs have survived in spite of the fact that converts are as a rule antagonistic to their original faith. The inter-connexion of Moslem and Hindu customs is seen also in the prevalence of caste among Mahomedans, about which I shall say more later. Although strictly a Hindu cannot be a Hindu unless he is born one, in actual practice the Hindu system is able in some way or other to expand itself by the inclusion of non-Hindus. Every year a considerable number of Hindus, especially of the lower classes, go over to Christianity or Mahomedanism, and no Hindu once he leaves Hinduism can return. Nor can the Christian-born or Moslem-born become Hindus. Individual conversion to Hinduism is as a rule impossible. Hinduism, however, expands by the conversion of communities, and the accretion of communities more than makes up for the

defection of individuals. The process is thus described by Sir Edward Gait in the 1911 Census Report :—

“ An aboriginal tribe in an environment where Hindu influences are strong comes gradually and half unconsciously to adopt Hindu ideas and prejudices, to take part in Hindu festivals, to attend at Hindu temples, and to pay a certain amount of homage to the Brahmans. Some degraded member of the priestly caste, or perhaps some Vaishnava Gosain in search of a livelihood, becomes their spiritual guide ; and as time goes on, the difference between them and their Hindu neighbours, in respect of their social customs and outward religious observances, becomes less and less marked, until at last they are regarded by themselves and their neighbours as regular Hindus. The change takes place so slowly and insidiously that no one is conscious of it. There is no formal abandonment of one ritual for another. Sometimes it happens that a tribe is thus divided into two sections, the one Hinduised, the other still Animistic. In such cases open proselytization often takes place among the unregenerate. The theory seems to be that the latter have lapsed from a higher state, and the Hinduised section of their community make no difficulty in admitting them after they have performed such ceremonies of purification as may be prescribed by their spiritual preceptors.”

Conversions from Hinduism are chiefly to Mahomedanism and Christianity. There is always of course a number of Hindus who pass to the volatilised Hinduism called Brahmoism. Among the lower classes of Hindus there is every year a considerable number of defections owing to conversion, either to Christianity or Mahomedanism. In the 1911 Census there are no definite indications of the number of conversions, but in both Risley's Census and Sir Edward Gait's 1901 Census for Bengal there are interesting figures and deductions. Risley points out that the figures show a tendency among Mahomedans to increase at a relatively quicker rate than Hindus. The reasons for

such an increase he gives as the more nourishing diet of the Mahomedans, the freedom of Mahomedans from the *damnosa hereditas* of infant marriage enforced by social ostracism, the more reasonable marriage age of girls, fewer widows, the removal of the ban on widow remarriage. Conversion to Mahomedanism is due to several causes. Among the educated classes conversions are due to the missionary enterprise of the *moulvis* who persuade the Hindus that the purity and simplicity of the Koran is more acceptable than the tangled Hindu theology. Conversions, however, are more usually due to social reasons. Hindu widows may escape widowhood by marrying Mahomedans and many Hindus who fall in love with Mahomedan women change their religion in order to marry the objects of their affections. Mahomedanism also provides an outlet to the lowest Hindu castes. There are numerous examples of the so-called depressed classes whose treatment by higher caste Hindus has driven them to the more convenient shelter of Mahomedanism or Christianity. In Hinduism there is a constant upward tendency in caste movements. High castes wish to be higher castes, low castes wish to be high castes, and pariahs or the casteless wish to be admitted to some kind of caste, however low. If the caste pretensions of the lower grades are not admitted by the higher, the lower castes may snap their fingers at authority and simply call themselves Mahomedans or Christians. A Brahman cannot then turn them off the road and heap his many insults on them with impunity. Mahomedanism is also a haven for those Hindus who wittingly or unwittingly have so offended their caste that return to their old status is possible only after very high fines or other severe penalties.

The purpose of what I have just said is to show that the fundamental antinomy of India, Hinduism and Mahomedanism, does not offer the same difficulty to natural fusion as is commonly believed. That the two religions do present a formidable barrier to union no reasonable man can deny,

but that the barrier is insuperable is a conclusion unjustified by the premisses. Superficially, it is true, the antagonism seems so great that only an *ingenium perfervidum Indiae* can see beyond it a clear way to national fusion. On the one hand in India there are 217·5 millions of Hindus, whose very name betokens their ownership of India: on the other hand there are 66·6 millions of Moslems who, to the Hindus, are exotics. Hinduism is the most rigid autocracy history has ever seen: Mahomedanism is based on the democratic equality of men. Mahomedanism is a fiery faith, intensely missionary: Hinduism is a philosophy of compromise, with an essentially close social system. Moslemism is monotheistic: Hinduism polytheistic and pantheistic. The political basis of Mahomedanism is the Koran, the law of the Prophet, demanding an extra-territorial allegiance to the Khalif. Hinduism is non-political; it is social, based on the caste system, and centred in the supremacy of the Brahmans.

That these antitheses appear in the ordinary life of the people needs little demonstration. At its lowest the antinomy appears in the many riots which occur at the Bakr-Id or Muhurram festivals, when the sacrifice of the cow by the Mahomedans is as a red rag to the Brahmany bull. Regrettable though these disturbances are, and though they may be the result of uninformed fanaticism, nevertheless they have a theoretical religious justification. They are undoubted indices of opposed points of view in the two religions, though with more education and mutual forbearance these riots may in time completely disappear. At its highest the antinomy is seen in the speeches and writings of political leaders. The Hindu writer or politician almost invariably speaks of the future India as a Hindu India. I could fill this *Review* with quotations from speeches in various Councils and Congresses, from pamphlets, books, and articles, in which Hindu speakers or writers envisage a future India for the *Hindu* Indians. The preponderance of the Hindus in numbers, their inherent connexion, even

in name, with India, perhaps makes pardonable such a one-sided view ; but it is difficult to understand the same point of view in the work of such a judicious historian as Sir John Seeley. Seeley, in the fifth lecture of his *Expansion of England*, second course, speaks of Brahmanism providing the germ out of which sooner or later Indian nationality might spring. He expresses surprise that nationality founded in Brahmanism has not developed long ago. The Mahomedan invasions provided the impetus for unity, but Brahmanism did not unite India against the invader. Hinduism, in fact, has never been electrified nationally by the spark of danger. "One touch of Danger makes the whole world kin," as Mr. Israel Zangwill says in his *Principle of Nationalities*. But danger did not awaken Brahmanism to unity and strength. Why? Seeley answers thus :

" Brahmanical powers have risen in India. A chieftain named Sivaji arose in the middle of the seventeenth century, and founded the Mahratta power. This was a truly Hindu organisation, and, as its power increased, it fell more and more under the control of the Brahman caste. The decline of the Mogul Empire favoured its advance, so that in the middle of the eighteenth century, the ramifications of the Mahratta confederacy covered almost the whole of India. It might appear that in this confederacy lay the nucleus of an Indian nationality, that Brahmanism was now about to do for the Hindus what has been done for so many other races by their religion. But nothing of the kind happened. Brahmanism did not pass into patriotism. Perhaps its facile comprehensiveness, making it in reality not a religion but only a loose compromise between several religions, has enfeebled it as a uniting principle."

Yet Seeley, even with the Mahomedans in their present position in India, still admits the possibility of union through Brahmanism, and even Risley, who criticises him, seriously considers the religion of the Arya Samaj as a potential "national" religion.

The one-sided view of Sir John Seeley, a view, be it noted, which is given in the same essay as says that the population of India is divided between "Brahmanism and Mahomedanism" is typical of much of the nationalist literature of India. While in actual practice the representatives of the communities act with excellent accord on the Legislative Councils, it seems next to impossible for Hindu political writers to balance their claims with those of the Mohammedans. This water-tight compartment attitude is of course fostered by the political organisations of the times. At present the elections to the Legislative Councils are necessarily held by communities, with the natural result that minorities look upon themselves as class minorities. Their whole attitude is to guard their own interests, the chief purpose, indeed, for which the present electoral system exists. Communal representation in any country is an element of national cleavage, and in India its inevitable result is the perpetuation of already existing differences. The "bond compounded of community of race, religion and language," of which the Montagu-Chelmsford Report speaks, cannot come from the separation of communities. As the position is in India, communal representation may be a passing necessity, but as long as it exists it will block the vista of complete Indian national union.

On the other hand even with communal representation not every question that arises in the Legislative Councils is a sectarian or minority question. The great majority of measures are Indian measures. In their details special arrangements may have to be made for communities. Thus in the often debated question of universal education, the question itself is all-Indian, but in its application special arrangements would have to be made for Hindu *patshalas* and Moslem *maktabas*. On these general questions, Hindus, Moslems, and, for that matter, Christians, Parsis and Buddhists, meet on a common *Indian* platform. Nothing more illustrates the need for the neutral moderating power of

Britain, which in these Councils holds the balance between the various communites of India, the chief of which, to judge by the writings of many of its leaders, is too apt to envisage the political future of India as a future for itself alone.

Before trying to weave together the threads of Mahomedanism and Hinduism, let me first make some remarks about religion in general as a factor in the disintegration or consolidation of mankind. Other things being favourable, people professing the same religion tend to union, people professing different religions tend towards disunion. Among existing nationalities similarity of religious faith is only ancillary to more potent bonds of union. The Christian faith has not welded the Christian world into a homogeneous whole, nor the Moslem faith the Moslem world. Sometimes sectarian differences in the same religion are as separatist as are different religions. The main separatist elements, however, obviously are race, history, language, political and commercial interests. One of the least essential of national unities, an accidental accompaniment of nationality, a strengthener, but not a maker of national union is religion as such. In its true sense it is above nationality. It transcends inter-racial or inter-national boundaries. It is a common meeting ground for all minds, all creeds, all races. But religion is narrowed into theology, dogma and ritual. It is the "handmaid of theology." It provides the sanction of "religious" institutions and creeds and so becomes racial and separatist. But if religion or creed is not an essential "unity" in nationality, it is also a non-essential in separatism. As in unity, so in separation, it is ancillary. The great religious wars and crusades of the world have not been purely religious. Religion, or creed, has only strengthened other motives. Worldly motives have instigated wars of religion, and religion has made the wars more bitter or fanatical than otherwise they would have been. The Moslems, when first they burst on Europe, were no doubt inspired by the religious desire to extirpate the infidel, but behind it was the economic

desire for food. "What other motive," say Professor and Mrs. Rhys Davids, in a paper to the Inter-Racial Problems Conference, "unless it were the driving consensus of hunger could have availed so to stir and urge the different sections of the Semitic race hither and thither under the common banner of one prophet, athirst to fling the world on its knees before the throne of one God?"

What is true of the Moslems is equally true of Christians. Economic motives have always played a considerable part in wars as well as conversions. Never has any religious war, as say the authorities just quoted, approached the spiritual plane of the one host or the other in the Holy War dreamt of by John Bunyan. "It needs," they say, "a child's simple faith to people the camps of Crusaders or Covenanters with hearts burning with the white purity and single-mindedness of a Joan of Arc. It is as impossible to imagine the first Christian going forth sword in hand to slay unbelievers as it is to picture a Buddhist, first or last, taking up arms against his fellow-creatures."

Economic motives thus underlie much of the so-called religious animosity of man. Equally notable is the easy transition from race-hatred to religious animosity. Religion is merely a cloak to physical repulsion, and when physical dislike is by successful commercial rivalry the religious animosity seems magnified, whereas religion barely bears the blame for a result for which it has little or no responsibility. "When the Christian," say Dr. and Mrs. Rhys Davids (*loc. cit.*), "sheathing the sword prays for all Jews, Turks, infidels and heretics, he confesses these as most needing escape from damnation who are not only aliens but who are or were the embodiments of success in business on the one hand, and, on the other, of aggressive restlessness and Asiatic institutions. The Spaniard might live side by side with the Moslem; the French and Teuton could not. And, further, where there has been aggression in the name of religion *within* national borders, the anger of

orthodoxy may always be traced at least in part to motives due to enmity of a political, social and economic nature."

Religion, therefore, is not so much a discordant element in itself but a cloak for other discordant elements. Race hatred, economic jealousy, political and social quarrels acquire an added zest when they wear the war-paint of religion. It is true that true religion in itself has a certain individual tendency, the tendency which when translated into action produces hermits and recluses. This, however, is far from being a cause of political disunion. The man who as far as possible withdraws from the conventions and ties of society is not likely to be a war leader or prophet of nationalism. Religion in its true sense makes for consolidation, and even in India, amid the millions of Hindu gods, amid the differences of Moslems, of Christians, amid exclusive races, castes and creeds a common basis of unity has been preached by Nanak, Kabir, Chaitanya and others who proclaim one God for all in India.

In India the two leading religions are so opposed in both creed and religious institutions that it may seem almost hopeless to find a meeting place for national fusion. The amorphous body of doctrine, ritual and social organisation which makes up Hinduism is a glaring contrast to the clear-cut well-defined Moslem doctrine of the *Koran*. The religious doctrine, the theology of the religions are markedly different, as are the respective rituals. In doctrine alone it seems hopeless to seek union. From what I have already said it will be obvious that the impact of one religion on the other has left its mark on each. Large sections of the community are partly Hindu and partly Moslem. Conversions take place from Hinduism to Moslemism, and as we shall see later, caste has affected Moslems as well as Hindus. The late Justice Ranaid (in his *Essays*) tells us that Moslem civilisation, with its central idea of equality, exerted a considerable liberalising effect on Hindu customs and usages. Moslem thought has absorbed some of the best elements in

Hindu idealism, and Moslemism as well as Christianity has encouraged the development of the modern theistic tendencies of Hindu thought. It is nevertheless inconceivable that either should swallow up the other, or that they should both meet on the neutral ground of Christianity. Christianity has affected both religions deeply, but the forces against mass conversion are too powerful to be overcome.

There seems, therefore, little hope for those idealists who hold that in doctrine some *modus vivendi* for Hinduism and Mohammedanism may evolve. Such an evolution is almost unthinkable. Mohammedanism has a long and glorious history, a clear-cut doctrine and an elaborate system of religious education. In numbers it is, in India, weaker, but it is conscious of its millions of co-religionists in other parts of the world. It is an aggressive faith, full of life, and shows absolutely no signs of succumbing to any other religious influence in India. It is, moreover, a political as well as a religious faith. Hinduism, though not well defined in doctrine, commands the devout allegiance of its followers. Flexible and adaptive in its doctrine, it has been reinforced by the new Indian nationalism. This nationalism, as undefined as Hinduism itself, has been particularly noticeable in the organisation known as the Arya Samaj.

I cannot here give a detailed account of the Arya Samaj. For an account of the movement and of similar movements I must refer the reader to a book published a few weeks ago called *Modern Religious Movements in India* by Dr. J. N. Farquhar, whose *Primer of Hinduism* and *Crown of Hinduism* are excellent books from which to study Hinduism as a religion. The Arya Samaj was founded in the last 'seventies by Dayananda Sarasvati, who was born in 1824 in the state of Kathiawar, and died in 1883. He spent the whole of his life in trying to re-establish the ancient faith of Hinduism. To re-establish Hinduism as the religion of India involved the eradication of both Mohammedanism and Christianity, an object which deeply involved

the Samaj in politics. Pandit Dayananda's object was to bring modern Hinduism back to the four Vedas. He called on Hindus to reverence Brahmanism and the *Smriti*, and return to the real Vedic fountain head of their religion. Just as the watchword of Luther was "Back to the Bible", the watchword of the Pundit was "Back to the Vedas." Implicitly contained in this doctrine was the political doctrine of India for the Indians, or rather the Hindu Indians. "Combining these two, we have the principle both religious and political, that the religion of India as well as the sovereignty of India ought to belong to the Indian people, in other words, Indian religion for the Indians, and Indian sovereignty for the Indians." (Farquhar, *loc. cit.*) To accomplish these two things the Pandit regarded as essential—first, the reform of Hinduism, by the return to the *Vedas*, thus uprooting the accumulated superstition of centuries and the Brahmanical hierarchy, and, second, the extirpation of Christianity and Mohammedanism. The Arya Samaj to carry out its objects advocated reform in Hindu customs and the spread of education. At Lahore it founded and maintains the Dayananda Anglo-Vedic College, and in the Punjab and United Provinces it has several secondary and primary schools, five of which receive grants from the Education Department. Its chief religious institution is the Gurukulu at Hardwar. It also takes an active part in the education of girls and has a Vedic Salvation Army, the model of which is the Christian Salvation Army.

To the Western thinker who considers that Hinduism is wavering before the wave of Western ideas which have come through Western education I commend the following eloquent testimony of Risley (in his *People of India*) of a testimony delivered after the exhaustive analysis of the Census Reports from every point in India :—

" . . . . the supremacy of Hinduism as the characteristic religion of India is not as yet seriously threatened. The Animistic hem of its garment, may, indeed, be rent off,

and its fragments parted among rival faiths. But the garment itself, woven of many threads and glowing with various colours, will remain intact and continue to satisfy the craving for spiritual raiment of a loose and elastic texture which possesses the Indian mind. It has often been said that the advance of English education, and more especially of the teaching of physical science, will make short work of the Hindu religion, and that the rising generation of Hindus is doomed to wander without guidance in the wilderness of agnosticism. This opinion seems to lose sight of some material considerations. Science, no doubt, is a powerful solvent of mythology and tradition . . . . But the human mind is hospitable and the Indian intellect has always revelled in the subtleties of a logic which undertakes to reconcile the most manifestly contradictory propositions. Men whose social and family relations compel them to lead a double life, will find little difficulty in keeping their religious belief and scientific convictions in separate mental compartments . . . . A religion which has succeeded in absorbing Animism is not likely to strain at swallowing science. The doctrine of *karma*, which in one of its aspects may be regarded as a sort of moral totalisator, infallibly recording the good and bad actions of men, admits of being represented, in another aspect, as an ethical anticipation of the modern determinist doctrine that character and circumstance are the lords of life; that one is a matter of heredity and the other a matter of accident, and that the idea of man being master of his fate is no better than a pleasing fiction conjured up by human fantasy to flatter human egotism. Nor is this the last refuge of Hinduism . . . . It also touches (by the doctrine of *Bhakti* or ecstatic devotion) the emotions by the beatific vision it offers to the heart and the imagination . . . . And a religion which rests on both philosophy and on sentiment is likely to hold its ground until the Indian temperament itself undergoes some essential change."

Theologies, then, do not provide a meeting place. Where, then, are we to find the necessary basis of unity. To my mind it lies in (a) general toleration, and (b) the social and political life of the people.

General toleration of all religions is one of the characteristics of modern political development. Up to the present, the West has gradually been throwing off the shackles of the Church *versus* Empire wrangles of mediævalism. The State and Church are now in both theory and fact being rapidly separated, and in the newest communities such as the United States and the British Responsible Dominions the State tolerates every religious denomination. Even in England, with its State Church Moslemism and Hinduism are allowed to exist. One of the cardinal tenets of British Rule in India is religious toleration, seen in the publicly professed religious neutrality of the Government of India. The right to worship in any way the individual desires exists in India within the necessary limits that open immorality or dangerous practices should not be practised. The Government of India thus from the very beginning has freed itself from the internecine strifes of religions. In some respects, it is true, the Government has departed from strict neutrality, as in the case of giving a guaranteed number of posts in Government service to Moslems. This policy, however, is not in origin religious : it aims at giving fair play to a community which in matters educational is somewhat backward. In general it is true to say the Government of India is in religious matters neutral. In measures affecting religious or ritualistic observances the greatest pains are taken to test the feelings of the respective religious communities. The Government, moreover, holds the balance between the communities, and if need arose, would prevent any undue encroachment by the one upon the other.

So manifold are the duties of the Government of India and so trusting are the people in government that in India

more than any community in the world the civic aspect of life is given a chance against all others. The Indian has great faith in government, and most people say too great faith, for he trusts too much to government and too little to himself. What is popularly known as the *ma bap* attitude of the people is due simply to the fundamental fact that Government is the maintainer and adjuster of the rights of the people. This, the basic fact of the state and government, is the best provision possible for the development of Indian national feeling. Religion cannot provide the basis; but it can be given a position such as will not interfere with the working of the political basis. If religions fight because of the fanaticism bred by opposed doctrines or customs, or if they are cloaks to racial or economic feuds, they may be superseded as agents of unity or difference by what is the true basis of the state. Nationality will develop in India not because Hindu, Moslem, Christian and other theologies will fuse, or merge into a new faith, but because a system of rights will be established which will guarantee to the various religious communities their various rights of worship. Nationality therefore may develop in spite of religious differences.

The second basis, and to a certain extent it only supplements the first basis, is the social and institutional life of the people. To give even a summary of the meeting points of the social elements in Hinduism and Mahomedanism would make too great a demand on my space. I have already referred to the actual inter-connexions of the religions. In discussing caste I shall have to say more of the purely social effect of caste on Mahomedans. There are many other instances, and more important ones of how Hindus and Mahomedans act together in full accord without any material differences arising from religious creed.

In the first place we may note inter-marriage. Some of the Moghul Emperors, as is well known, had Hindu

Empresses. Rajputs and Moslems have inter-married. The Kasbatis of Gujerat, nominally Mussulmans, marry Hindu wives. The Molesalams who are partly Hindu inter-marry with Moslems. A recent Jam of Nawanagar had a Mahomedan wife whose son was declared successor to the throne. The wife of the late Nawab of Junagadh was a Hindu, and her funeral was attended by large crowds of both Hindus and Mahomedans.

Secondly, there are innumerable instances of the intermingling of customs. The Gaekwars of Baroda wear in their childhood the symbols of Mahomedan mourning during the Muhurram. The Gaekwars proceed in the Id processions with the Moslem devotees to the mosques. In Poona, a Hindu centre, the tabuts, which are imitation mausolea in memory of the death of Husain, the grandson of the Prophet, are carried in procession by the Hindus.

Thirdly, in industrial life, we find that the artisans are Mahomedans, the raw material being produced by Hindus. In factories, in building, in all kinds of manual labour, in fact, Mahomedans work side by side with Hindus. Even in crime (as in the case of the notorious Pindaris) they work amicably. In the recent riots in Calcutta the origin may have been due to Moslem causes, but the Hindu *budmashes* were only too ready to join in for the plunder.

Fourthly and chiefly, there is the community bred of political and politico-social life. From the smallest local bodies to the Imperial Legislative Council, even the Secretary of State's Council, Hindus and Mahomedans work together without religious friction. In the Native States we find a Hindu Prime Minister in Mahomedan Hyderabad, a Mahomedan Prime Minister in Hindu Jaipur, and also a Mahomedan Chief Justice in Hindu Baroda. Hindus and Moslems meet in national and other congresses. Questions such as the separation of the judicial and executive powers, education, and Indians in South Africa affect both communities. Even religious and social reform has known

a meeting at Delhi, where Syed Ahmad Khan, Dayanand Saraswati, and Keshub Chandra Sen met. Hindus and Mahomedans have joined in common philanthropic bodies. The Seva Sadan, for example, has a Moslem Branch. The Co-operative Societies have brought the communities together for a common economic purpose. There are such clubs as the Orient Club in Bombay and the Lumsden Club in Amritsar, or the Calcutta Club in Calcutta, where the communities meet in perfect social amity. Hindus have been even returned a member to the Imperial Legislative Council. Hindus frequently propose Moslems for election as officials.

I could quote pages of extracts from speeches of members of either community such as the Aga Khan and the Maharaja of Darbhanga, a most orthodox Hindu, inculcating the fact and duty of unity, but I think I have already said sufficient to justify the conclusion that *rapprochement* between the communities already exists. The opinion is frequently expressed that the creation of such institutions as the Benares Hindu University or the proposed Aligarh University will encourage diversity. Let me quote an extract from a speech in the Imperial Legislative Council, which expresses such a fear and at the same time gives the solution.

The Hon'ble Mr. Ghuznavi, in the discussion on the Benares Hindu University Bill, said ". . . I should only like to say at the present moment that there is some amount of feeling in the country that neither a Hindu University nor a Mussulman University will be of any real advantage to the people, because I take it the desire of true Indian patriots is above all else to bring about the unification of the two great communities of this country, namely, the Hindus and Mussulmans, and a Hindu University and a Mussulman University will I am afraid tend to produce *ultra* Hindus and *ultra* Mussulmans. But," continued the speaker (the italics are mine), "*if my Hindu friends in this Council, the promoters of this University and the Hindu public outside, are enamoured of*

*their University, and if they are satisfied with the constitution which the Government has been pleased to grant them I for one wish them all joy."*

Similar doubts were expressed at the same meeting by the present Vice-Chancellor of Bombay University, Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, so that the doubts came from both communities. The italicised remarks of Mr. Ghuznavi characterise the mutual tolerance of Hindus and Mussulmans in public bodies. Friction is most exceptional. In my own experience of a University and College where both Hindus and Mahomedans are taught instead of intolerance, I have always noted the greatest readiness on the part of either community to accommodate itself to the wishes of the other in respect of matters of religious observance.

I may also note in passing that the Benares University received cordial support from other communities, such as the Parsis and Christians, represented on the Imperial Legislative Council.

The Government of India was severely criticised in many quarters for giving its consent to the Bill. I do not pretend to know the inner workings of the Government of India, but to me it seems that, granted that religion is not the basis of unity for India, and that unity will develop in spite of religion, it is ridiculous to attempt to suppress institutions which will encourage the highest development of both religions. If the Universities carry out the purpose of their foundation they will undoubtedly add to the culture of India. It would be as ridiculous to suppose that these Universities, were they political institutions, would *not* prevent the development of Indian national feeling.

Many English observers of Indian politics readily point out the object lesson of Ireland, where there is only a difference of sect, not of religion. If sectarian differences can do so much, *a fortiori* how can we expect fusion in India, where not only religion but language, customs, political antecedents and much else are different? The



British Government has failed to unite Ireland, how can it expect to unite India? These and similar questions I must leave to a later part of these studies in Indian nationality. In the meantime I may say that in Ireland it is obvious that religion is not the only point of divergence between England and Ireland, and that the British Government has not the same problems in India as in Ireland. In some respects the problems of India are more difficult; but in one respect they are much easier, and that is in religion. The Government of India is neutral in religion, and it occupies a distinct place *as a government*, i. e., as a dispenser of justice or a maintainer of a system of rights, which will enable it, while holding the balance in matters religious, to become more and more the object of the *political* minds of Indians. By holding the balance the Government will also enable the two communities to put their own houses in order, the Mussulmans to heal their differences, the Hindus to adapt their social system to the new political needs.

Religion, I repeat, is the central antinomy of India. But religion lives in harmony with religion under the ægis of a neutral government. As the process of intellectual enlightenment moulds the religious, intellectual and social lives of the citizens of India, we may reasonably hope for the advent of the mutual amity and toleration for which Sir Rabindranath Tagore pleads so earnestly in his *Nationalism*. By perfecting their own systems in the shelter of the *pax Britannica* the religions can not only add to the sum of the world's culture, but mutually act and react on each other in the process of fitting into the Indian whole. In the meantime, when the higher verities of religion cannot be understood by an unenlightened proletariat, clashes will appear and blood be spilt. The evolution will nevertheless continue, the only real danger being undue haste in political reconstruction. A system of rights does not grow up in a day, but it may be destroyed in a day. In India to "force

the pace" of political development would mean complete ruin to all the forces which are at present working for good.

The creation and maintenance of a system of rights requires the recognition, either explicit or implicit of rights: in other words, the notion of citizenship must underlie the state. That the ideal citizenship is wanting in India is only too evident; it is recognised in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report (paragraph 229) in their reconstruction of the Indian political frame, where it is said "Division by creeds and classes means the creation of political camps organised against each other, and teaches men to think as partisans and not as citizens." I have spoken of creeds, but I have not yet given an intensive analysis of classes. This leads me to a discussion on a subject cognate to the main subject of religion, the subject of caste, which, though intimately connected with religion, is so vital that it must be treated as a subject in itself. In examining the various facts and relations of caste I have of course to confine myself mainly to Hinduism, but the Hinduism I shall speak of is not Hinduism as a religion but as a social system. In speaking of Hinduism as a social system the central fact of which is caste, I shall have further occasion to speak of Hindu ideas of nationality as distinct from Indian nationality.

R. N. GILCHRIST.

## THIRTY MONTHS A PRISONER IN TURKEY.

BY SISIR PRASAD SARBADHIKARI,

*Ex-Private, Bengal Ambulance Corps.*

WHEN the desperate and bold attempt to send the boat *Julnar* to Kut with 48 days' provisions failed and on the morning of the 25th April 1916 we could see her stranded in the river only four miles below Kut, we knew that there was nothing left for us but surrender. Though not unexpected, this wholesale capitulation was none the less distressing and painful. On the 27th negotiations were opened, and on the 28th it was officially announced that Khalil Pasha, the Turkish Commander, was willing to let the whole division go on parole, on condition of our giving up all arms, ammunition, stores, etc. General Townshend was ready to accept these terms for his sick and starving garrison which could escape a slow lingering death only by laying down arms. On the morning of the 29th, however, we got orders to destroy whatever arms, ammunition, etc., we had, for the Turkish authorities in Constantinople disapproved of Khalil Pasha's proposal. All the guns (we had 40) were rendered useless; all rifles, bayonets, etc., were destroyed and all ammunition thrown into the river. In the afternoon the good old Union Jack was lowered (the pity that we ever lived to see it) and the Turkish Crescent was hoisted over Kut. Then the Turkish soldiers entered, most of them without boots, all of them in rags, looking more like so many followers of a free-booter than soldiers of a regular army. Instead of feeding us, which any civilised besieging force would surely have done when they knew that we had been almost starving for several months, the Turkish soldiers, and even their officers, busied themselves with plunder. Some entered the hospitals

and robbed the poor patients of their money and other belongings and some were bold enough to lay hands on our officers. One of my comrades was relieved of his wrist-watch by a Turkish Warrant Officer. This state of things continued uninterrupted for two days, after which the Turkish officers tried to restore order amongst their troops. On the evening of the 30th we got rations from them,—six hard black biscuits for each man.

About the 1st May, at the request of our Government, the Turks agreed to exchange the wounded and sick of the British Army. It took about five days to transport these men. In the meantime other units had left Kut for Bagdad. But as there were too many medical units with our division, the Turks wished to get rid of some of them by sending them back to their base. Accordingly they stayed on for a few days more at Kut. On the 8th we were ready by the wharf to embark, but when the steamer that was to have taken us to the British territory appeared, we were told that the previous order had been cancelled and we were ordered to prepare next day to embark for Bagdad. This was a grievous disappointment. On the 9th May, we boarded the *Julnar* and each man was given 16 biscuits, hard black things, more like stones than eatables. This was ration for four days, within which time they said we should reach Bagdad. We actually reached Bagdad on the eighth day, and after our disembarkation we were compelled to march through the town, where doors, windows, and housetops, were filled with men, women and children. As we walked through the streets, some spat on us, some stoned us and others threw dirty water on our heads from the roofs. This promenade through the town lasted nearly two hours, after which we were brought to the camp near the railway station. By that time we had suffered extremes of hunger, thirst and fatigue and the insults showered on us made us feel that the cup of humiliation and misery had been drunk to the dregs.

Seventeen of the forty men who were kept in Bagdad

to work in hospitals belonged to the Bengal Ambulance Corps. These hospitals were under Turkish officers, and here, in addition to our usual hospital duty, we had to do all sorts of menial work, including the cleansing of stables and other dirty places. The Arab population of Bagdad treated us badly, and whenever we were taken out of the hospital for fatigue work—which was frequent—they never failed to annoy us in every possible way.

After two months in Bagdad I was discharged from hospital duties and sent over to the internment camp in Asia Minor. From Bagdad we were taken by train to Samara, where we had to leave in hospital one of our comrades, Lance-Naik P. K. Ghosh, who still remains untraced and in all probability is dead. It would take long to describe fully how we fared on that march from Samara to our camp in Asia Minor. At one point we had been given for three days' ration six biscuits, and we did not reach the next ration stage till the seventh day. At times we had to march continuously for 10 or 12 hours, and when on the fourth day after such a weary march we had to wade through three rivers in succession, our tired limbs could scarcely bear us up and we were nearly washed away by the current. Almost every day we had cases of sunstroke amongst the British soldiers, and we had to hire donkeys from villages for them. Sometimes we bribed the escorts to give us a few hours' halt, to let the sick men rally. Though we ourselves had but a few piastres (1 Turkish piastre—2 annas) to boast of, we used to raise the required amount by subscription, for to leave a man behind meant certain death at the hands of the Bedouins. If ever after several hours' march without food or drink, we asked for a little rest, the escorts would flog us and give the column no halt until it suited their fancy. They were always on horseback and the donkeys meant for the sick were used by them to carry their luggages. When one of our Ambulance Corps men, who had high fever, went to the Turkish Sergeant for a donkey, he got a good

beating. Several times we had to march from 16 to 18 hours during the whole day and once we had to go about 40 hours without any water and I cannot remember how many times we went without any food. We reached the internment camp at Ras-el-Ain one evening, worn out and exhausted after a tramp of nearly 700 miles, in some places through deserts and in most places over barren hills and mountains.

At Ras-el-Ain, I met Private Bose, one of the five B. A. C. men who had been captured on 1st December 1915 during the retirement of the force from Ctesiphon to Kut. We heard from him how these men had been stripped off everything, how Private Chatterji had been stabbed with a bayonet on his refusing to give his gold spectacles to his captor, how in that bitter cold they had to march barefooted and in a semi-naked condition, how men who could not march with the column had been killed and how the three B. A. C. boys died one after another of hunger, privation and cold. His story was full of lessons for us and taught us to be contented with our lot, which, though not enviable, was at least better than his. Later on I met Private Deb, the only other survivor of these five men and learnt from him that, after he had been wounded in the thigh, he was left on the river bank without food, drink, shelter and medical care for about ten days until he was brought to Bagdad.

In the internment camp at Ras-el-Ain there were nearly 6,000 prisoners, all working on the railway. I worked in the Railway Hospital. We were given black Bedouin tents, which like *shamianas* afforded protection only over the head and for our ration we got coarse *atta* (flour). Latterly they gave us one loaf a day instead of *atta* and sometimes meat and other things but never any fuel. After finishing our morning work in hospital, we had to go out to a distance of three or four miles and sometimes more, to collect cows' and camels' dung for fuel. Then on returning to camp, we had to begin work again and look after the cooking as well. The patients in hospital were in the same plight as other men. They had

to live in similar Bedouin tents, there was no provision for medicines, and the rations served out to them, though cooked, were of the same stuff and quality as ours. Some of the serious cases were sent to the Aleppo hospital.

One day an amusing incident occurred. I had to go to the Ras-el-Ain Railway Station with a number of these patients to see them off. When the patients had been put in the train and all the sick attendants had gone back to the hospital excepting myself, a Turkish officer called me from a first-class compartment. I went up to him and he thrust out one of his legs through the door of the carriage and told me to pull off his high boots. I told him that it was not my work and I was there to look after the patients. The officer apparently knew well how to enforce obedience amongst unwilling subordinates and he showed his whip. It was no use protesting any more. I was standing on the ground and there being no platform, the tip of his boot nearly touched my chin. Discretion being the better part of valour, I began to pull his boot. It was, I believe, several sizes too tight, for pull as I would, it would not come off. I pulled and tugged, I perspired and panted and after nearly five minutes hard labour, the good old boot came only half-way, as if unwilling to leave its master. I looked up at his face and could see that he was getting angry. With the strength of despair, I gave a final jerk and off came the boot and down fell the officer with a thud on the floor of the carriage. Before he could get up I had thrown the boot into the compartment and was running for my life towards our camp.

In winter the life in camp was dreadful. We had no warm clothing, most of us had no boots and few had blankets. The cold was severe, rendered much worse by continual wind and rain, from which the Bedouin tents afforded us poor shelter. I remember how, huddled together like so many sheep, we passed night after night without any sleep. Then typhus broke out in the camp and thousands of men died for want of medicine, good food and proper treatment.

I had typhoid and was sent to the Turkish Military Hospital in Aleppo, where I was kept in a ward full of Turks. The state of things here was not much better than at Ras-el-Ain, only we had houses to live in, instead of tents. The sanitary arrangements were nearly two minutes' walk from my ward and I had to drag myself all that way, which in that state of health I could not do in less than ten minutes. Often I was found lying on the road and was brought into the ward by some kindly Turkish patients.

On my way back from Aleppo to Ras-el-Ain, after my recovery, I was detained at one place for four days, without any reason, by the local Commandant. Whenever I asked him to give me food, which the Turks were always very unwilling to do, or to send me to my camp, for I had not money enough to buy food every day, he would fly into a passion, abuse me, and do all but strike me. Omar Effendi, such was his name, like many other worthies of the Turkish Army should be labelled "highly inflammable."

The next year things were much improved in our camp. The hours of labour were reduced and we could get our rations regularly, though the quantity was small. Clothing, medicines and medical comforts were sent by our Government through the American and afterwards the Spanish Consul. We often got good food, tea, sugar, quilts and various other comforts through them. One Turkish officer, Colonel Tauffik Bey, was being tried at the time we came away from Turkey, for misappropriating £10,000 which had come to him from our Government through the Ottoman Red Crescent Society for British and Indian Prisoners of War at Ras-el-Ain.

Ras-el-Ain was one of the places at which Armenians were slaughtered. These ill-fated people would often leave their children near our camp on their way to the place of execution. Many Indians picked up and kept several children in their tents, but whenever Turkish officers came to inspect they would take away the children and punish the men for

keeping them. Still five children were kept concealed. One of them was only a year and a half when he was brought to our camp. He was picked up from a neighbouring streamlet where he was found lying in water. He can now speak only Hindustani. Some of these boys have been brought from Turkey by their adoptive fathers. All the Armenians had been first driven out of their homes, the men were massacred and the women and children left to take care of themselves as best they could in a starving country and amongst an unsympathetic population.

When the construction of the railway from Ras-el-Ain to Nisibin was finished, the camp was removed to the latter place. Nisibin (or Nisibis) was a Roman town, and ruins of ancient buildings are still to be seen in some places. Here we passed the winter of 1917-18. Though we had still the same old Bedouin tents the mortality was much lower than during the previous year. We not only had better food, but we got plenty of medicine, medical comforts and clothing. These were better even than what the Turkish officers had and for all this we are grateful to our Government.

At the end of winter, in April 1918, there was a rumour that our Army was advancing towards Mosul and the men talked of nothing but escaping. A sort of fever prevailed in the whole camp and every day parties of four or five were deserting. We too formed two parties. Private J. C. Mitra's name was in the first and mine in the second batch, which we arranged would start a week after the first. We got for Mitra a beautiful compass from a German soldier in exchange for a cake of sunlight soap—good soaps are rare things amongst Germans—and a map which I had stolen from the office of the hospital where I worked. After a few days had passed, Mitra with his comrades was brought back and was severely punished and thus ended our plan of escape.

In September, 1918, we saw a copy of an agreement between the British and the Turkish Government according to which Turkey agreed to exchange 1,000 British and Indian

prisoners for 1,500 Turkish prisoners. It was further agreed that all hospital men should be exchanged excepting one medical officer and five men for every thousand men who should remain behind. The invalids were selected and a list of men eligible for exchange was made. My name was included in this list and all Turkish officers, even Colonels, said that we should be sent away within a week's time. We had seen enough of the Turk by that time to learn that he seldom kept his word, but we thought that an exception always proved the rule; we came to see afterwards that a Turk was a Turk and in his case the rule was too rigid to admit even of a single exception.

On the 6th of October we could see that something was wrong with the Germans, everybody seemed agitated and perturbed and people were talking in whispers. On the 7th we were ordered to pack up all medicines, instruments and other hospital things, and all patients excepting the Germans were discharged and the hospital declared closed. Then began the flight of the Germans; every day trainloads of Germans and Austrians were whirled away towards Constantinople. It took nearly a month for all these people to clear away. Thus collapsed the Bagdadbahnbau (Bagdad Railway Construction) and with it all ambitious schemes of Germany in the East.

In the beginning of November, there was a rumour of an armistice in the camp and we heard that orders had come from Constantinople to the local Commandant, Lieutenant-Colonel Saleh Bey, to send us to the nearest British Headquarters which were in Aleppo at that time, but we saw no signs of this order being carried into effect. On the contrary, General Ali Hassan Pasha, of the 6th Ottoman Army, wired to Saleh Bey to send the prisoners in two parties to Djezireh to make a road across the mountains. The local Commandant, who feared the lesser god more than the Stamboul deities,—the former was known to threaten his subordinate officers with death in case any of his orders were violated,—

sent a party of 1,200 men, who were given pickaxes and shovels to carry with them, instead of their kits, which had been taken away from them and distributed amongst the Turks. When the men had nearly reached Djezireh, which was five days' march from Nisibin, another telegram came from Ali Hassan to bring them back as they should be sent to Aleppo. The men were brought back accordingly, but even then nothing was done to effect our removal to Aleppo. Suddenly one evening, on the 9th November, Lieutenant-Colonel Killing, who had been like us a Kut prisoner in Turkey but had fortunately escaped, came from Mosul with two armoured cars to take us away from Turkey, as the Turks were making no arrangements for our release; and then for the first time we learnt that the Turks had been totally defeated. The first batch of released prisoners were sent to Aleppo on the morning of the 11th. I left Nisibin on the 17th November after more than 30 months' captivity in Turkey and reached Bombay on the 8th January 1919.

Almost all the prisoners in Turkey worked in the "Gesellschaft für den Bau von Eisenbahnen in der Türkei" (Society or Company for the construction of railways in Turkey) which was a German concern. Hence the Germans were more our masters than the Turks. We were now and then paid by the Company, always in Turkish notes, which never fetched more than one-fifth of their face value. Such was the credit of the Ottoman Empire within its own dominions. The Germans would often take out patients from the hospital for work and anybody who refused to obey was left without food. We were never given any good food, because we were prisoners. In the hard days in Kut, when an ounce of horseflesh was valuable, our prisoners got the same food as we did, but during captivity a British officer could not get even the rations prescribed for an ordinary German soldier. One German ward orderly was considered superior to all prisoners, even our officers, and he was a

terror to all of us. German officers used to tell us often, that we should never expect good treatment because we were prisoners. No wonder they treated us like that, when we saw them behave towards the Austrians and Turks most shamefully. The wilful cruelty and deliberate ill treatment by the Germans and the want of arrangement and organization on the part of the Turkish Government—if that corrupt administration and hopeless muddle of affairs can be called a government at all,—embittered our prison life and left on the tablet of our memory marks that will never be effaced.

Space will not permit me to give a full account of our experience in Turkey and it would require the skill of a literary artist to describe faithfully what we suffered there, for we did suffer much. And did we not amidst all our sufferings earnestly pray that the day might come when our enemies would be crushed and made to pay for all the wrongs, injuries and inhuman treatment to which she subjected the poor prisoners? And (thank God) we lived to see that day.

SISIR PRASAD SARBADHIKARI.

*Calcutta.*

## HISTORICAL ANTECEDENTS OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

BY K. ZACHARIAH, I.E.S.

“WHAT is the history of the proposal for a League of Nations ? ”, I asked a student the other day. “President Wilson first suggested it ” was the answer ! And, indeed, the scheme has generally been hailed with all the *éclat* of a new discovery : which is another proof, how short is the historical memory. For, as a matter of fact, the League of Nations is as old as the English Parliament or older ; the new thing about it is only that, like the English Parliament, it has turned from an instrument of royal authority to a safeguard of popular liberty. The aim has ever been the same. Men knew in Dante’s time, and before, that “ the most direct means of approach to the ultimate goal of all our activity is universal peace.” The particular method of ensuing peace implied in the League of Nations is equally old ; but the transformations of political circumstances have insensibly altered its presentation. The ancient idea comes back to us disguised in modern trappings and America, in its turn, discovers Europe.

However little war outraged the moral sense of early peoples, it is evident that its physical and economic inconveniences must have come home to any civilized society. The strain on the meagre resources of the community and the danger to life and property must have constantly threatened to submerge the precarious margin by which civilization lifted its head above the surrounding barbarism. Accordingly, almost from the first, we find attempts to preserve peace or at least to mitigate the horrors of war. In particular, there are two methods which stand in the direct

line of ancestry to our League of Nations and which are in full operation in Ancient Greece. One is the congress of states, the other arbitration between states.

Of Greek confederations the most famous was that associated with the name of Delphi. The Council of the Delphic Amphictyony, which was composed of twelve tribes, met twice a year, in the spring at Thermopylæ, in the autumn at Delphi. Its main concern was religious, the defence of the temples and their sacred territory and the maintenance of the games and festivals. But it could not keep clear of politics ; it imposed an oath on all its members that they would never destroy a town belonging to the Amphictyony nor cut off from it running water, in peace or war, and that they would fight against any violators of this law ; it was occasionally called in to decide disputes between states, especially such as had a religious colour. There were more purely political leagues in Greece, some of them perfect federations. But we may pass on to the alliance between Rome and the Latin League early in the fifth century B. C. "There shall be peace," ran the compact, "between the Romans and all the Latin cities so long as the heavens and the earth shall endure as they are. They shall not make war nor cause war to be made on each other." But many of the confederacies of ancient times, as of modern, tended to turn to hegemonies, the growing predominance of one state upsetting the balance. The federal precedent was, however, fruitful. Men had discovered that union is not only strength but peace.

Everything comes from Greece except religion. All the 'ism's of politics, individualism and socialism, nationalism and cosmopolitanism, imperialism and federalism, have their source in that fertile soil. Even the Woman's Suffrage movement may be traced back to the pages of Euripides. And international arbitration, far from being an invention of the Hague Conference, was a common

practice in Greece.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, treaties between states often included a clause stipulating that subsequent differences should be submitted to arbitration and providing for the establishment of a common tribunal. The arbitrator might be the Delphic Oracle, a neutral city, a distinguished philosopher or athlete or a mixed commission. It is well known that arbitration was suggested before the Peloponnesian War ; and there are numerous cases of its successful employment. In Solon's time, Sparta gave judgment between Athens and Megara as to the possession of Salamis ; Periander of Corinth arbitrated between Athens and Mytilene as to the possession of Sigeum. In course of time, an elaborate formal procedure was developed for arbitral suits : the judges took an oath to pronounce just sentence ; each party made an affidavit ; evidence, both oral and written, was produced and all other relevant documents ; safe conducts were given for the collection of proofs ; and advocates represented the parties.

Rome followed Greek practice. Before she became mistress of the world she was very ready to arbitrate between other states, especially because it offered many opportunities of extending her own influence. With the spread of Roman dominion arbitration disappeared, but Roman law became universal. *Jus Gentium* and *Jus Naturale*, whatever they meant to the Romans, were destined later to serve as the basis of an international jurisprudence. The Roman Empire impressed on the nations within its fold the lineaments of a common civilization ; and this was a fact of infinite consequence for the future.

But, for our purposes, even more instructive than amphictyony or *jus gentium* are the dreams and deeds of the Middle Ages. Those were days of blood and iron, when men were rough and life was hard and making war was even more common than levying taxes. The medieval home was

<sup>1</sup> For further information, see Philippson : *International Law and Custom in Ancient Greece and Rome*, M. N. Tod : *International Arbitration amongst the Greeks*.

the castle, with drawbridge and keep and dungeon ; lands were held on the tenure of military service and rent was discharged by fighting ; might was indeed right, for judicial cases were decided by the ordeal of battle. Private warfare was one of the prerogatives of a gentleman ; and a gentleman was one who wore arms and bestrode a horse. In such an age, peace appeared a consummation devoutly to be wished, though in actual life it might seem remote as a star. But there was one haven where peace might lap a man round and multitudes thronged into it. The conditions of the Middle Ages explain its paradoxical antitheses ; the cloister and the castle were equally the symbols of the time, St. Bernard as characteristic of it as Geoffrey de Mandeville or Fulk of Anjou. The Ages of Faith were also the ages of hard, stern materialism--the one aspect was the complement of the other. It was because the land was full of battle, murder and sudden death that men sought peace within the walls of the monastery.

The individual, then, who found himself unequal to the demands of medieval life might easily secure peace in this world and the next by donning the gown. But men felt that this was not enough ; peace was surely an ideal for society as for the individual. Buttressed, though not begotten, by such sentiments as this, the medieval theory of a universal society arose--a theory which was more than a mere theory, of a society which was at once Church and State. Within its comprehensive limits, as we shall see, all smaller groups might live secure, each by force of its own vitality fulfilling its own function, protected and controlled. But before we go on to study the medieval League of Nations, we may watch in a narrower sphere the working of the same principle.

The administration of justice in the Middle Ages was coloured by the same characteristics as all else. The ordeal by battle was one of the most common forms of judicial

decision and the appeal in it was to the God of Battles. It was the application of the principle of war (if there is any principle about it) in the domain of private disputes. But in course of time it began to be felt that the method was irrational and unfair ; and, in some countries at least, a new procedure, which had at first been used as a prerogative procedure for the elucidation of royal rights, was gradually extended to all manner and variety of cases. The jury of sworn men (*jurati*) of the venue were asked to speak from their full knowledge of the facts. The appeal was no longer to Heaven, but to reason and facts, the *publica fama*, the common knowledge of the vicinity. The Church, usually a humanising agency in the Middle Ages, killed the ordeal by forbidding priests to take any part in it ; and thus the success of the reasonable, if secular, method was assured.

The interest of this illustration is that of an analogy. In the sphere of private justice, the spear gives place to the sworn men. The proposal for the League of Nations is, in one sense, nothing more than that, in the sphere of public or international justice, the jury should be substituted for the ordeal. The sworn men of every nation would declare the right instead of letting the parties fight it out among themselves.

If we take a wider view, we shall see that the structure of medieval society and the general trend of medieval thought foreshadowed the League of Nations. The single *respublica Christiana* is yet a *communitas communitatum*, not an absolute but a federal unit consisting of intermediate groups, each of which is itself a whole. The federal principle was more fully realized in the Empire than in the Church, but it was present in both. Each group is organic, with its own principle of life and its own coherence, not deriving its group-unity from the delegation of any superior power. But encircling them all like a dome stood the ultimate unity of the Empire and the Church.

In the Church, the forces that worked for absolutism and centralisation proved eventually stronger and the Pope was vested with a *plenitudo potestatis*. Already in the eleventh century the *Dictatus Papae* of Gregory VII shows the process almost complete. But it must not be forgotten, that the rival idea died hard. "John of Paris," says Gierke,<sup>2</sup> "saw in the Pope only the corporative Head of the Community, related to it merely as every prelate was related to his own ecclesiastical corporation, having only such powers of government as were necessary for the preservation of unity, and, if he transgressed against the common weal, liable to be admonished by the Cardinals and deposed by a Council." Such, we may remind ourselves, was the theory of the leaders of the Conciliar movement. At Constance and Basle voting was by nations, a tacit acknowledgment of the federality of the Church. At Trent, it was by heads, which indicates the growth of Papal autocracy. But, even at Trent, a vehement minority could declare that bishops held their office *jure divino*.

The medieval Church sought to obtain control of all sides of life and, in particular, of the fighting instinct. It mellowed militant feudalism into chivalry, consecrating force to the service of helplessness; and turned chivalry into a sort of religion. It imposed on the restless baron the Truce of God which forbade private warfare against certain classes of people and at certain times. And, in the Crusades, it led the best and worst elements of the community to war indeed, but war outside the limits of Christendom and against a common foe. The First Crusade especially, which was launched at a time when the greater sovereigns of Europe were all under the ban of the Church, manifests the real unity of Christendom under the Papacy and the authority of the Pope to bind and unloose, to make war and peace—for war in Palestine meant so far peace in France.

But the greatest of the Popes did even more. They set themselves up as an international tribunal and arbitrated between king and people and between king and king. In England, Innocent annulled Magna Charta; and he claimed to arbitrate between the French and English sovereigns. In a decretal sent to the French bishops justifying this claim, he says with sublime confidence, "It belongs to our office to correct all Christian men for every mortal sin. . . And, if any shall say that kings must be treated in one way and other men in another, we appeal in answer to the law of God, wherein is written, "Ye shall judge the great as the small, and there shall be no acceptance of persons among you." But if it is ours to proceed against criminal sin, we are especially bound to do so when we find a sin against peace." Innocent also adds that a treaty between the two kings had been violated, and that all questions of the violation of an oath undoubtedly belonged to the Church.<sup>1</sup> These principles are far-reaching; and if the Papacy had been able to act consistently on them it could have prevented all internecine war in the *respublica Christiana*.

After all, the Papacy would not have been a very unfair court of international arbitration. Although the Curia was in Rome and its traditions were overwhelmingly Italian, yet anyone might be Pope; and the Roman See had equally the care of all the churches. The temporal power enabled it in its palmy days to be free from political pressure, so that it could hold the balance impartially between rival nations. On the whole, it had at heart the interests of humanity, justice and peace except when its own secular interests were threatened. In one person, it supplied a federal corporation—the Pope was a *universitas*; or, if that is an exaggeration, the College of Cardinals was an international tribunal. Since its agents were scattered over the world, its sources of information were usually

<sup>1</sup> Carlyle: *History of Medieval Political Theory*, Vol II, pp. 219-222.

admirable ; and by means of legates the Pope could project his justice to the uttermost parts of Europe. Finally the sanctions behind its decrees were universally dreaded and were usually sufficient to bring any obstinate offender to his knees. Excommunication, interdict, the high prerogative of deposition enforced by crusades—few rulers of the time could stand these unmoved.

In theory, the Empire was no less universal and hardly less omnicompetent. Medieval writers made it world-embracing and did not shrink from any of the logical consequences of their speculations. All the earth, even the infidels by right, were subject to the holder of the *imperium mundi*. He alone could make new kings and he could decide matters which the king could not. Even in the fifteenth century it was asserted by an apologist who later became Pope that the Emperor had a true feudal lordship over all princes and peoples. “ Neither custom nor privilege could effect any deliverance from its sway. . . Every alienation, every partition, every other human act which diminished this Empire was *de jure* null and void.”<sup>4</sup> One hardy philosopher went so far as to say that the World Society (*universitas mortalium*) might pass sentence on a guilty nation and deprive it of all share in the government.

Nor was the theory all empty sound and fury, signifying nothing. The Emperor was the Holy Roman Emperor and Rome was the centre of the world. Not only was he ruler of Germany and Italy, but he had some superiority, vague and undefined, over Hungary, Poland and Denmark, over France, Sweden, Spain and England. He alone (though the Pope usurped it) possessed and exercised the right of granting the kingly title ; this dignity was bestowed on the rulers of Bohemia, Burgundy, Hungary, Poland. As late as 1700, the Elector of Brandenburg obtained the Emperor’s consent when he made himself King of Prussia. The Imperial office was elective

<sup>4</sup> Gierke, *sup. cit.*, p. 20.

like the Papal ; and the choice of the electors was unlimited within Christendom. Englishmen, Spaniards, Frenchmen were often candidates and were occasionally elected.<sup>5</sup>

Here it is more relevant to observe that the Emperor was regarded as the maintainer of peace in the world. "The Empire was Peace ; the oldest and noblest title of its head was '*Imperator pacificus*'. " From this point of view did Dante direct his great argument in the *de Monarchia*. "Universal peace is the best of all those things that are ordained for our blessedness." " But to secure peace between rulers a sovereign power should be postulated. " Between any two princes, one of whom is in no way subject to the other, contention may arise, either through their own fault or that of their subjects, as is self-evident. Wherefore there must needs be judgment between such. And since the one may not take cognisance of what concerns the other, there must needs be a third of wider jurisdiction who, within the compass of his right, has princedom over both."<sup>6</sup> This must be the Emperor, and not the Pope, as Dante laboriously tries to prove by appeals to scripture, history and reason. The Emperor, it should be noted, is not the feudal owner of the land of Europe ; his power, position and functions in England are not the same as those of the king. He stands on a different level. The general preservation of peace is at once his *raison d'etre* and his supremest duty. " This is the mark on which he who has charge of the world and is called the Roman prince should chiefly fix his mind, to wit, that on this threshing floor of mortality life should be lived in freedom and peace."<sup>7</sup>

When Dante wrote, the Imperial sun had already sunk low in the West ; but, a hundred years after him, an Emperor called together a general Council, summoning princes and prelates to Constance to compose war in Europe

<sup>5</sup> On the rights of the Empire, see generally Bryce. *Holy Roman Empire*

<sup>6</sup> Dante : *de Monarchia*, bk. I. ch. IV.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, bk. I. ch. X.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, bk. III, ch. XVI

and to heal schism in the Church. At the Council Sigismund posed as the head of Christendom and from it he went forth with the object of mediating between France and England and between Poland and the Teutonic Order. Unhappily his efforts in the cause of peace were fruitless ; but the attempt of the Empire to act as an international tribunal is interesting in the light of Dante's contentions.

The ruler of the world did not exercise unquestioned rule even in Germany. To assure their election, the Emperors had to grant away lands, dignities and offices to the princes, till finally the Wettin or Wittelsbach became more powerful than the Imperial Hapsburg. Elsewhere, his authority soon became the shadow of a shadow. "*Rex est in regno suo imperator regni sui*," so said a medieval writer. In France the claims of political unity had always been hotly combated. John of Paris and Gerson had each suggested that it was not against divine ordinance that the laity should live in different states. In England Richard II had called himself "*entier empereur dans son roiaulme*." Secular independence came thus early to the princes of Europe ; but complete national sovereignty had to wait till the sixteenth century and the Reformation. Then Henry VIII could boast that he was not merely king but emperor and pope in England. Then the German princes could consecrate the same doctrine in the maxim, *cujus regio ejus religio*. When Luther shattered the religious unity of Europe he was protected by the civil power ; and in his turn, he exalted the right of the State. In Italy, a backwater unruffled by the main currents of the Reformation, the same result was achieved by the political heterogeneity to which the Papacy, itself little more than a secular power in its home and moved by secular considerations, contributed. The state system of the Peninsula early developed the characteristics of modern politics – the absolute power of the government unfettered by any considerations save those of efficiency and success, either towards its neighbours or towards its subjects. But

it should not be forgotten that the establishment of secular sovereignty was the primary result of the great movements that separate the modern world from the medieval. In a sense, the independence of the State was the religion of the Reformation. The fact that the State was conceived narrowly as monarchical government was only an accident; the same principle could be applied to democratic forms of constitution.

Political theory followed practice with the usual servility. Machiavelli sketched with frank realism the maxims of the statecraft of the day. There being no common superior, governments were in a state of nature; and the Italian denied the existence of moral or legal obligations between them. But the Dutchman, Grotius, borrowed from the rich stores of Roman jurisprudence the notion of a law of nature which pervades the state of nature; and his elaboration of the idea created for the modern world a new section of the *Corpus Juris*, International Law. International Law has not prevented war any more than private law has prevented crime; nor has it even definitely aimed at the abolition of hostilities. But it has regulated war, one might liken it to chivalry. It is growing and is capable of indefinite growth. And the recognition it involves of moral rights and duties in the sphere of states is clean contrary to the facile cynicisms of Machiavelli. On that foundation alone can any League of Nations be built.

Before Grotius wrote such a scheme is said to have been proposed by Henry IV of France. The information comes to us in the Memoirs of his minister, Sully, " but it may be that he ascribed his own project to his master in order to obtain for it a more respectful hearing. Sully also associated Queen Elizabeth with the first conception of the plan, though the Queen's whole outlook, as we know it, seems foreign to such grandiose schemes for the remoulding of Europe and the abolition of war by the concert of

\* *Memoirs*, ch. XXX.

nations. The Memoirs give us only the rough outlines of the Grand Design, while the details are left vague and shadowy. Leaving out Russia, a barbarous state "as much Asiatic as European," the rest of the Continent was to be divided among fifteen powers including six hereditary monarchies, France, Spain, Britain, Denmark, Sweden and Lombardy, five elective monarchies, the empire, the papacy, Poland, Hungary and Böhemia, and four republics, the Venetian, the Italian, the Swiss and the Belgic. This involved some measure of territorial rearrangement, especially in the case of Spain which would lose its possessions in Italy and the Low Countries and in the case of the Austrian Hapsburgs who would forfeit the Imperial dignity and their German states. The project was thus primarily aimed at the traditional enemy of France and Henry anticipated that a preliminary war might be necessary to establish his new Europe and to inaugurate universal peace. Nevertheless, the office of the Emperor was to continue; he would be the "first and chief magistrate of the entire Christian republic." He would still be elected, but not twice together from the same family. The first Emperor would be a Wittelsbach.

The European Commonwealth was to have its council. Modelled on the Greek amphictyony, the Senate was to be a permanent body of sixty-six plenipotentiaries from the different states, each chosen for three years. Representation would be unequal, the larger states having four and the lesser only two delegates each. The Council might act in three separate bodies or together, it might be fixed or ambulatory; and there might be subordinate committees for particular districts. It would have at its disposal the confederate army consisting of the fixed quotas supplied by each state. With an overwhelming force at its back, it might reasonably hope to maintain order and "to settle quarrels amicably." Henry "found the secret," says Sully, "of persuading all his neighbours that his only object was to

spare himself and them the immense sums which it costs them to maintain so many thousands of soldiers . . . and to secure for them an unalterable repose, so that all princes might henceforth live together as brothers."

Such was the Grand Design of Henry which has served as the pattern of later projects of peace and which was itself derived from the Greek confederacies on the one hand and on the other from the medieval empire. But the plan was vitiated by radical defects such as, in a few decades, would have transformed it from an instrument of progress to a weapon of reaction. In the first place, the horizon of its authors was limited by Europe. It was inevitable and probably right at the time that the non-Christian world, which did not share in the common traditions of the West and which breathed a different moral atmosphere, should be left out of account ; but it was less excusable that the real difficulties of the colonial situation were also overlooked. The problem of Greater Europe, even then beginning to be acute, was solved in an easy and impossible fashion. Spain, suggested Henry, should not only retain all its (and the Portuguese) colonies in the three continents, but it should also be declared sole proprietor of all lands discovered in the future on the condition of free trade for all nations. When we consider the dynamic expansiveness of the English, the French and the Dutch, it is evident that this provision would have sufficed of itself to breed endless war. Secondly, the settlement of religion was equally provocative ; for only three established creeds were to enjoy toleration : the Roman, the Reformed and the Protestant. All other variations should be suppressed, "as there is nothing in all respects so pernicious as a liberty in belief." Finally, Henry's league was a league of governments and not of peoples. Each state was presumably to retain the existing constitution and political change was condemned as well as religious. The Grand Design attempted to dam up the currents of history and the only

result would have been a deluge. The real causes of later wars were left untouched. No effort was made to control the subterranean, volcanic forces which produced the English Rebellion and the American Rebellion, the Revolution of 1688 and the Revolution of 1789, the Anglo-Dutch wars of the 17th and the Anglo-French wars of the 18th century.

But the great idea lived. The torch, falling from the hands of the murdered Henry, was taken up and passed on from generation to generation, from country to country, till at length Alexander I of Russia blew it into flame. The succession is interesting as illustrating the vitality of political ideas and the extent of our debt to the past. About 1693, William Penn, Quaker, courtier, man of peace and founder of a flourishing colony in America, revived the scheme of an international tribunal which should preserve peace by arbitration. Twenty years later, the Abbé de St. Pierre published his Project of Perpetual Peace. Premising that Christianity and the Empire have stamped on Europe a fundamental unity, he suggests that nineteen Christian sovereigns excluding the Tsar, should contract a perpetual and irrevocable alliance and send plenipotentiaries to a permanent congress in which all disputes should be decided by arbitration or judicial decision. Each nation was to contribute an equal quota to the common army, which was to be used to expel the Turk from Europe and to bring any rebellious state to reason. The Confederation was "to guarantee to each of its members the sovereignty of the territories in its actual possession as well as the succession whether hereditary or elective, according to the fundamental laws of each country." Existing boundaries were thus to be stereotyped ; and existing governments were to be sustained. The claims of democracy and the claims of nationality were equally ignored. But the tide of democracy was surely, if slowly, rising in the 18th century and critic after critic laid his finger on the same weak spots in the Abbé's scheme.

Leibnitz complained that there was no provision in the project for the redress of the grievances of subjects against their monarchs, and insisted on the Holy Roman Empire as the natural basis on which any such scheme must be built. Voltaire took the same line and Rousseau stated the objection explicitly : "One cannot guarantee princes against the revolts of their subjects without at the same time guaranteeing subjects against the tyranny of their princes." "The proposal for a perpetual peace," he added, "is, at present, doubtless an absurd one. It can only be put into effect by methods which are violent in themselves and dangerous to humanity. One cannot conceive of the possibility of a federative union being established except by a revolution."

In a few years revolution came and put Rousseau's prophecy to the proof. The high hopes it raised for the moment were soon dashed to the ground, for it brought not peace but a sword. And it was in one of the lulls of the revolutionary wars that Kant published his treatise *On Perpetual Peace*.<sup>10</sup> But the work was not a mere *livre de circonstance* nor was his interest in the subject altogether new. As early as 1784 he had presented a federation for the maintenance of peace as the ideal of statesmen, the culmination of history, the point at which the goal of politics coincides with that of morality. But his optimism was sobered by his clear perception of the ethical issues involved, he did not regard peace as immediately attainable by the manipulation of political institutions, but as an ideal to aim at and to live by. "Perpetual peace is no mere empty idea, rather it is a problem which gradually works out its own solution." And being at bottom moral it implies a moral regeneration of man—always a slow process. "Discretion warns us not to drag in the conditions of perpetual peace by force, but to take time and approach this ideal gradually as favourable circumstances permit." In other words

<sup>10</sup> Kant : *Zum Ewigen Frieden*.

“Seek ye first the kingdom of pure, practical reason and its righteousness, and the object of your endeavour, the blessing of perpetual peace, will be added unto you.”

In explaining his actual scheme Kant starts with certain preliminary articles which are in the nature of corollaries to any proposal for lasting peace. The competition in armaments, for instance, is a provocation to war ; therefore standing armies should be gradually abolished. The transfer of a state, as if it were private property, through marriage or inheritance, from one dynasty to another has been a cause of wars and should cease. Equally inadmissible is violent interference with the constitution or internal administration of any state, each being entitled to rule its own house without constraint. War lives on money and the multiplicity and duration of wars depend on the extent to which credit is available. The prohibition of national debts for war is accordingly one of the surest means of strangling militarism. Peace should not be made with secret reservations which pave the way to a future war. And war itself should not be waged in such a manner as to make future confidence impossible.

These preliminaries granted, Kant lays down the definitive articles of a perpetual peace in three clauses, first, the civil constitution of each state shall be republican ; secondly, the law of nations shall be founded on a federation of free states ; thirdly, the rights of men as citizens of the world shall be limited to the conditions of universal hospitality. Republicanism in Kant’s sense is not democracy ; it “is the political principle of separating the executive power of the government from the legislative,” whereas democracy proper is despotic and denotes the state which executes the laws which it has itself made. A strong republic, void of desire for self-aggrandizement, may serve as a nucleus of union and make alliances for permanent peace with its neighbours, till finally all nations, perceiving its advantages, follow the good example. Kant does not contemplate a

sudden and universal act establishing a world-state and abrogating the independent sovereignty of the existing political communities, but rather the slow and unforced widening of a federation to avert war. And this is almost exactly what has happened. Indeed, Kant's treatise is full of instances of prescient insight. His purview included nations that were outside the European family. Commerce, he pointed out anticipating Mr. Norman Angell, furthers the noble end of peace; and he grasped the oft-repeated fact that "the intercourse, more or less close, which has been everywhere steadily increasing between the nations of the earth, has now extended so enormously that a violation of right in one part of the world is felt all over it."

We do not propose to discuss the numerous theoretical schemes of the 19th century and the still more prolific brood of "paper constitutions" begotten of the late war. Many of them are justly famous—in England alone such names as those of Bentham and Mill are associated with the "peace movement." And each of them had its share in educating the public conscience of the world to the pitch of welcoming the historic League of Nations outlined by the Conference of Paris a few weeks ago. "That kings should be philosophers or philosophers become kings," said Kant, "is not to be expected. Nor is it to be desired; for the possession of power is inevitably fatal to the free exercise of reason. But it is absolutely indispensable, for their enlightenment as to the full significance of their vocation, that both kings and sovereign princes should not allow the class of philosophers to disappear nor forbid the expression of their opinions."

Not many years elapsed, however, before a philosopher-king arose; and Europe was greeted by the spectacle of that rare and fickle phenomenon, a despotic monarch animated by sublime idealism. With his advent the European Confederation of Nations passed from the realm

of theory to the realm of fact. It was not the least strange element in the situation that the impulse to the first modern league should have come from that Russia which Sully and St. Pierre had rejected from their federations. Alexander breathed life into the dry bones of theory, and ever since then, we have progressed steadily on, with many set-backs and many disappointments, it is true, but learning from failure to moderate expectation and to be content with small gains. The account of actual experimentation is more instructive than the description of schemes which had, perforce, to be constructed in the dark.

The circumstances that led up to the Confederation of 1814 present, in many respects, a singular parallel to those of a century later.<sup>11</sup> In the one case as in the other the Alliance was originally formed in the course of a great war and was, in the first instance, directed against an overweening military power. In both cases, the ground was prepared for the seed, for men were sick of war and longed that some rational means might be devised to preserve peace. But while in our day the main impulse to a world-wide league has come from the far West, in the last century it came from the near East. As early as 1804 Alexander addressed Pitt on the subject. "If Europe be saved," he wrote, "the union of the two governments which has achieved these great results ought to last on, in order to preserve and augment them. Nothing would prevent at the conclusion of peace a treaty being arranged, which would become the basis of the reciprocal relations of the European states. . . . Why could not one submit to it the positive rights of nations, assure the privilege of neutrality, insert the obligation of never beginning war until all the resources which the mediation of a third party could offer have been exhausted. . . ? On principles such as these one could proceed

<sup>11</sup> For an exposition of European history from this point of view, see Alison Phillips; *The Confederation of Europe, 1813-1823*.

to a general pacification and give birth to a league, of which the stipulations would form, so to speak, a new code of the law of nations." At this early period the Tsar realized that no union could be permanent which ignored the rights of nationality or the rights of the people. Governments, he said, must everywhere be founded on the sacred rights of humanity, and each state must be composed of a homogeneous population. To Poland itself he was willing to give a separate government and a liberal constitution. But his adherence to these principles was an abstract and insubstantial affection, apt, as later history proved, to give way under any sort of strain.

Nevertheless, it produced historic results. The ten years between 1813 and 1823 were packed with treaties, but of them all the one that came closest to the Tsar's ideals was the original Act of the Holy Alliance, proclaimed in September 1815. This was a union of the three sovereigns of Russia, Prussia and Austria, "conformably to the words of the Holy Scriptures . . . in the bonds of a true and indissoluble fraternity." To each other they were to be brothers, to their subjects fathers of families. Any other power avowing the same sacred principles of "Religion, Peace and Justice" would be received with "equal ardour and affection into this Holy Alliance." All the states of Europe took advantage of this invitation with the exceptions of Great Britain, the Papacy and the Ottoman Empire. The Sultan could take no part in a Christian league. The Pope was not anxious to join the alliance of "a Catholic, a schismatic and a heretic." England refused to be drawn into the meshes of a confederation of uncertain aims and indefinite means. But few even of the members shared the Tsar's enthusiasm for the Christian republic. Austria, under the guidance of Metternich, was really sceptical and suspicious. Perhaps Alexander alone imagined that, in truth, a Universal Union of Europe had arisen. He was soon to be disappointed. But it may be

remembered that the Holy Alliance was not in its first inception a league of tyrants in defence of despotism.

Meanwhile, less ambitious projects with more tangible aims had been mooted and taken up. Under the shadow of the Napoleonic peril, the four great Powers—Britain, Russia, Prussia and Austria—signed the Treaty of Chaumont, March, 1814, “to draw closer the ties which unite” them for the vigorous pursuit of the war. The sixteenth article ran, “The present Treaty of Alliance having for its object the maintenance of the Balance of Europe, to secure the repose and independence of the Powers . . . the High Contracting Parties have agreed among themselves to extend its duration for twenty years from the date of signature.”

This Quadruple Alliance had a definite and immediate object, the defeat of France, or rather of Napoleon. That object seemed to have been achieved when the First Peace of Paris was made. Outstanding questions were discussed at the Congress of Vienna where, though practically every state of Europe was represented, the controlling influence was that of the four Powers. “Universal expectation,” wrote Gentz, the Secretary, in words that are just as applicable now, “universal expectation has perhaps never been roused to such a pitch as before the opening of this dignified assembly. Men had promised themselves an all-embracing reform of the political system of Europe, guarantees for universal peace, in one word, the return of the golden age.” But the Congress did little more than clear the ground of the *débris* of the war; it passed “no great measure for public order or for the general good.”

Before its work was finished, the news came of Napoleon’s escape from Elba and landing in France. The treaty of Chaumont was hastily renewed since the original circumstances had reappeared. But the final victory of the Allies was followed, not only by the Second Treaty of Paris, but by a Treaty of Alliance of which the most significant clause for our purposes is the sixth: “In order

to consolidate the intimate tie which unites the four sovereigns for the good of the world, the High Contracting Powers have agreed to renew at fixed intervals meetings consecrated to great common objects."

The first of such meetings was the Conference of Aix-la-Chapelle in September, 1818. Here the Tsar suggested the definite promulgation of a General Alliance of all the European states, "having as its object the guarantee of the state of territorial possession and of sovereignty *ab antiquo*." This did not, however, necessarily mean the perpetuation of despotism; governments, freed from the fear of revolution, would be encouraged to offer constitutions to their peoples. But Castlereagh was reluctant to accept such an unlimited liability as the Alliance implied. "The problem of a Universal Alliance," he wrote, "has always been one of speculation and hope, but it has never yet been reduced to practice, and if an opinion may be hazarded from its difficulty, it never can. But you may in practice approach towards it," and he pointed out that the Quadruple Alliance had done so. "The idea of an *Alliance Solidaire*, by which each state shall be bound to support the state of succession, government and possession within all other states—must be understood as morally implying the previous establishment of such a system of general government as may secure and enforce upon all kings and nations an internal system of peace and justice." The consequence of this protest was that, while France was admitted to the now Quintuple Alliance, the Tsar's ideal remained unrealized. But, as a matter of fact, the Conference itself acted "not only as a European representative body, but as a sort of European Supreme Court, which heard appeals and received petitions of all kinds from sovereigns and their subjects alike." The Elector of Hesse asked for the title of king; the people of Monaco complained against their prince; the situation of the Jews in Austria and the suppression of the pirates in the

Mediterranean were discussed. Coy in words, in acts the Conference was a real international tribunal ; though it must be added that the jealousies of the Powers prevented the final solution of several weighty problems.

But disaster was at hand. The current of liberalism, which was just then running strong, was hurrying the frail Confederation to the rocks. 1820, in particular, was a year of revolutions. In France, the Duc de Berri was murdered ; in Spain, a successful revolt forced a constitution on Ferdinand VII ; in Portugal, the military dictatorship of Beresford was overthrown and Brazil was separated from Portugal ; in Naples, the king bowed before the storm and granted the demands of the victorious rebel leaders. Everywhere, as at the present day, the established order of things seemed to be shaking ; and age-long authorities, Dagon-like, fell prostrate in a night. There was something terrifying in this relentless subversion to the despotic monarchs of Europe. Metternich had always been frankly conservative, but the Tsar's liberalism also now suddenly faded like a ghost at cockcrow. There followed the Conference of Troppau, October, 1820, where the three eastern and autocratic Powers solemnly pronounced the doom of revolution. "States which have undergone a change of government due to revolution *ipso facto* cease to be members of the European Alliance. If, owing to such alterations, immediate danger threatens other states, the Powers bind themselves, if need be by arms, to bring back the guilty state into the bosom of the Great Alliance." The absolute refusal of Britain to co-operate or even to sanction joint action against Naples led to the practical break-up of the Confederation and to the consolidation of Russia, Austria and Prussia as a reactionary league of sovereigns resolved to give no quarter to liberalism. The Congress of Verona, October, 1822, only emphasized the split and thenceforth the Confederation of Europe became only a pious memory. "Things are getting back to a

wholesome state again," wrote Canning, the successor of Castlereagh. "Every nation for itself and God for us all, the time for Areopagus and the like of that is gone by."

The history of those few momentous years possesses a peculiar interest for us who have been watching the resurrection of the ideas of Alexander I. If history has any meaning, any significance as example or warning, we are compelled to ask why the earlier experiment failed, whether the causes of failure are removable and whether circumstances are different in our own day. One reason, surely, for the collapse of the Confederation was that no one was quite clear what was the purpose and what the moral and legal competence of the Alliance. Great Britain never saw eye to eye on this point with Russia and always was shy of a Universal Union with indefinite jurisdiction. France, against whom it was originally aimed, stood in an ambiguous relation to it even when formally admitted. Austria and Prussia were almost entirely selfish. The taint of its origin was never wholly washed away ; the internal cleavage became more and more apparent as new questions arose which involved selfish interests.

What underlined the differences was the fact that neither the great Powers nor Europe generally possessed constitutional homogeneity. Some of them were liberal, some liberal in profession, some frankly autocratic ; and it was not to be expected that they would take the same view of changes in other states. The closer the fellowship of nations, the more surely will disaffection spread like a pestilence. The French Revolution had proved the aggressiveness of radical movements, and the despotic rulers of Europe had good cause to tremble in their shoes when the red flag was hoisted in any corner of the Continent. A common level, not only in moral but also in political standards, is indispensable to the permanence of any Confederation. It is not suggested, of course, that an international community must remain mute and motionless ;

but the states should start fair and, like the eight oarsmen in a boat, keep a more or less uniform pace in their progress. Exactly the opposite happened. Revolution killed Internationalism.

The stability of any international organisation must obviously also depend on inviolable territorial arrangements. But this is building on sand. In face of existing treaty rights, in face of vested interests and historic possession, in face of the claims of nationality which cut across political frontiers, a satisfactory geographical adjustment was all but impossible. To harmonise the right of nationality with the right of law is a stupendous task, and the Congress of Vienna certainly did not achieve it. The result was, the cry of oppressed nationalities became the loudest note in the European concert (or discord) for the next hundred years ! Nationalism gave the *coup de grâce* to Internationalism.

Such were some of the precipices which the Confederation failed to scale in its attempt to storm the citadel of Peace. They still stand : not always in their ancient form, but towering as ever. Living as we do, in the midst of Socialism, Bolshevism and all manner of labour troubles, we can hardly pretend that democracy, as our fathers knew and practised it, is the last word in political institutions ; nor can we convince ourselves or others that the present social order is the most admirable. How to combine progress with order, freedom with law, is the eternal problem of society ; and it will not be solved by the mere creation of an international organisation. There will still be need for change or, at least, desire for change which will militate against the stability of any but the most rigid and coherent or the most loose and elastic form of universal community.

And nationality, like Oliver Twist, is always asking for more. It would be blind optimism to expect that the Conference of Paris will be able, once for all, to still that clamant

voice and to achieve an adequate demarcation of frontiers. Who can draw a "national" map of Europe? And who can make it acceptable? The reconciliation of natural, national and political frontiers is as futile as squaring the circle. Any settlement must carry within itself the seeds of future dissolution, unless machinery is devised to subject treaties to periodical revision.

In one sense, the problem that confronts us is considerably more baffling than that which puzzled our great-grandfathers. They were concerned only with Christian Europe; but the intrusion of the New World and the reappearance on the scene of the oldest of all worlds, the East, have introduced complications of the gravest nature. The weight of the Roman Empire pressed Europe into unity and the Church continued the good work of levelling and making one. Centuries of intercourse, whether friendly or hostile, have in any case perpetuated the family tradition. In law, customs, intellectual outlook, moral standards, religion, the differences are trifling between the European nations, the identity fundamental. The entry of America into this group may offer no serious obstacles, it is after all a child of the family. But the adoption of the East can only be effected by a legal fiction, a fiction which has little warranty in fact. The best one can hope is that adoption might bring about a speedy and real assimilation of either civilization.

It is a relief to turn to the brighter aspects of the situation. If we are appalled by the difficulty of combining international control with national freedom, we may remind ourselves that it is, in essence, neither new nor insuperable. Each community has to define in its own way the limits of public interference. The question at what points the circle of law should intersect the circle of morality is not different in kind from the larger question the nations are facing. Even more to the point is the fact that federations are a commonplace of modern political life and that we see, in successful working, as a triumphant negation of all the

rules of the game, the unprecedented unit of the British Empire. In America, thirteen colonies which did not love each other were forced to federate by a common hatred ; and although Federal rights and State rights are old party cries, yet they have led to but a single war in the course of a century and a half. Sundered by race and religion, by sea and civilization, the various parts of our own Empire have held together in a manner as surprising as it is encouraging. Experiments such as these suggest that we have already gone a long way to solving the problem ; more than one arch of the bridge is already in position. Inherently impossible the task is not—it is a matter of experience and expediency, of nice balance and delicate compromise, of careful rules and lenient application.

Nor should we forget that, during the past century, the links between the nations have been multiplied and something like a common law has been slowly and painfully evolving. The Congress of Vienna gave a general sanction to that Law of Nations which had been amplified, after Grotius, by Puffendorf and Bynkershoek, by Leibnitz and Vattel. The additions it made were slight in their content, but significant in their source. Since then there have been numerous examples of similar legislation : the Declaration of Paris of 1856, the Geneva Code of 1864, etc. The growing perception that social evils can only be eradicated completely by concerted action has produced international congresses on one subject after another. To take a few instances : prison reform on a combined basis began in 1846, the last Congress dealing with it including twenty-eight states. A Conference in 1851 was the first, but not the last, to deal with infectious diseases. The slave traffic, black and white, has also been the topic of joint discussion and legislation. In 1876, the Swiss Government proposed an International Congress on labour problems, but the first Conference on workmen's protection actually met only in 1890 at the invitation of the German Government. Fifteen states sent

delegates and this was the first fruits of Robert Owen's appeal to the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1818. In the sphere of religion, states as such have naturally not taken a conspicuous part, but the Edinburgh Conference nevertheless marked an epoch in the history of international relations. And the World's Student Christian Federation has perhaps done more than any other single institution to create an "international mind." How profound a need this is of a League of Nations we have not yet fully appreciated.

These are all at once symptoms and causes of a deepening fellowship of the nations, a fellowship which made possible the very solid achievements of the Hague Conferences of 1899 and 1907. Their work in codifying and extending the laws of war lies strictly outside our scope; but the maintenance of the general peace was also one of the chief objects of Nicholas II when he continued the traditions of Alexander I and gathered together the International Peace Conference, as it calls itself. If no final pacification was effected and if in the reduction of armaments the powers contented themselves with pious aspirations, nevertheless the Conferences mark a fresh stage in the history of peace. In particular, they adapted with infinite elaboration the ancient device of arbitration. In cases of quarrel, they recommended mediation. Each of the aggrieved parties was to nominate another power and these seconds to confer together for thirty days with the object of preventing a rupture, during which time the principals were to hold no direct communication with each other. Such a period of enforced inactivity, giving leisure for cool reflection, might be of the utmost value in averting war. Another contribution of the Conference to the cause of peace is the scheme of international Commissions of Inquiry for the elucidation by impartial investigation of facts which are in dispute. A notable instance of the use of these was the Dogger Bank case in 1904 in which Britain

and Russia were involved. But the greatest service of the Hague Conferences was the erection of the Permanent Court of Arbitration, a standing tribunal with a large number of possible judges out of which a special panel might be selected by the interested states. International arbitration, which, to use the words of the First Hague Conference, "has, for its object, the settlement of differences between states by judges of their own choice and on the basis of respect for law," had not entirely fallen into desuetude after the collapse of the medieval empire and papacy. On the contrary, it had become increasingly popular as the 19th century went on. The case of the *Alabama* in 1871 is well known. The Conference did not, then, resuscitate a dead practice, but it set up a permanent court which was always in being and to which recourse was easy. Scores of disputes have been settled by it, and everyone knows that, on the very eve of the last war, it was earnestly suggested that the quarrel between Austria and Serbia should be referred to the Hague tribunal. But the Central Powers willed war and declined the invitation.

Simultaneously with the establishment of a court commenced the practice of arbitration treaties between states, by which the contracting parties agree to refer specified classes of disputes to arbitration. During the six years following 1904 over a hundred treaties of this kind were signed, though most of them reserved questions affecting vital interests, honour or independence. Germany and Austria stood markedly aloof from this fraternisation and they were mainly responsible for the defeat of the attempt of the 1907 Conference to enumerate certain classes of cases liable to compulsory arbitration. But, in spite of the war, the whole movement has gone forward rapidly. Only four years ago, the United States concluded with Britain and France two treaties of far-reaching import. The former, for instance, provided that all disputes which

could not be settled by arbitration should be referred to a commission of five nominated by the two governments. No hostilities might begin till their report had been presented.

It would appear, then, as the result of our inquiry, that the League of Nations is no sudden and isolated phenomenon, but one of the best prepared events in history. It has a pedigree as long as civilization. It will not, indeed, usher in the millennium ; but it will perhaps shut another door on war. And that is a result for which in this world of great struggles and small gains we may well be thankful.

K. ZACHARIAH.

*Calcutta.*

## THE JUTE MILL OPERATIVES OF BENGAL AND WELFARE WORK.

BY J. C. KYDD.

*Statistical*—In Bengal the total number of persons industrially employed in factories coming under the Factory Act (No. II of 1911) is 416,769. The number of establishments is 522. Sixty-one of these are jute mills which employ 261,382 persons out of the total number or 63.6 per cent., a percentage which is fairly representative of the relative employment in jute mills to other industries within recent times. In 1916 the percentage was 63.9 and in 1912 when the numbers were, respectively, 320,087 and 199,325 it was 62.3. The development of the jute industry has been rapid. In 1879-80 the numbers of looms was 4,946 and employees 27,491. Ten years later these figures had increased, respectively, to 7,419 and 58,805. In 1895-96 the number of employees had risen to 78,114. In the following year this number jumped up to 91,610. By 1904-05 the number of employees was 133,162. Ten years later it was 230,222; the latest figures as we have seen show employment at 261,382 and the coming years are likely to be a time of still greater developments.

Of the 261,382 employees 192,667 are men, 41,395 women, 24,034 boys, between the ages of 9 and 14 years, and 3,286 girls between the ages of 9 and 14 years.

Except for a small mill in Calcutta employing the relatively small number of 595 male adults (this is a jute mill), the jute mills are all concentrated in the district of the 24-Parganas (43), Howrah (15), and Hooghly (12), and mostly situated on the banks of the river Hooghly. The mills established in the early days of the industry drew most of their labour from the surrounding agricultural

districts, and some of these, particularly those well down the river, still recruit about 95 per cent. of their labour from local sources. But with the great development of later years the supply of labour from Bengal was not sufficiently strong and encouragement was given to immigrant labour from Bihar and Orissa, the United Provinces, and Madras. It is reckoned that now about 90 per cent. of the total labour employed in jute mills is imported. Although the numbers increase continuously little is now done in the way of the direct recruitment of labour. Recruitment is in large measure automatic. When recruitment is necessary it is effected through the mill sardars who get into touch with their co-villagers or the co-villagers of men under them. The industrial population has never been redundant and the mills have never suffered from serious shortage.

A salient characteristic of the jute mill employee is that he is still an agriculturist at heart and that he maintains a definite connection with his village, returning to it annually, in a great number of cases generally at the time of harvest, for a month or two. One might say that, as yet, in Bengal there is no settled industrial population comparable to the industrial populations of Western countries. The Industrial Commission of 1916-18 express themselves strongly when they say (Report p. 11)

“ We have little doubt but that the hours passed in the uncongenial, if not unhealthy, surroundings of a factory, from which the labourer returns at night to a dirty, crowded, and insanitary hovel, where his only relaxations are found in the liquor shop and the bazaar, are most unattractive to a man accustomed to rural life, and it is only the congestion existing in his native district and the desire to earn higher wages for a time, that lead him to submit to such conditions.”

So far as conditions in the jute mills are concerned there seems to be an element of over-statement in this account and it is worthy of further consideration, but it may be noted that the whole tendency herein indicated is one

which operates against any real progress in the development and advance of an industrial population.

*Hours and Conditions of Labour.*—Under the Indian Factories Act (No. XII of 1911) which is to a large extent based upon the British Factory and Workshop Consolidation Act of 1901 (1 Edw. VII, C. 22) definite limits are set to the employment of labour of all kinds. The limitation of the hours of work of adult males in textile factories is, indeed, a special feature of the Indian Act. Chapter V, Section 28, sets it down that no person shall be employed in any textile factory for more than twelve hours in any one day. It may be noted that any interval by which work is interrupted for not less than half an hour is excluded when computing this period of twelve hours (*cf.* Chapter IX, Section 52 of Act). It is further set down (Chapter V, Section 29 (1)) that no person shall be employed in any textile factory before half past five in the morning or after seven o'clock in the evening and though sub-section (2) of this section declares that nothing in sub-section (1) shall apply to any person while employed in accordance with a system of shifts approved by the Inspector, conditions in Bengal are governed generally by sub-section (1). Section 32 of Chapter V states that no child shall be employed for more than six hours in any one day. Though the general term "person" is used in regard to the special provisions for textile factories the regulation of the employment of women is determined by a previous section of the Act (Chapter IV, Section 24) which declares that—

(a) No woman shall be employed in any factory before half past five o'clock in the morning or after seven o'clock in the evening;

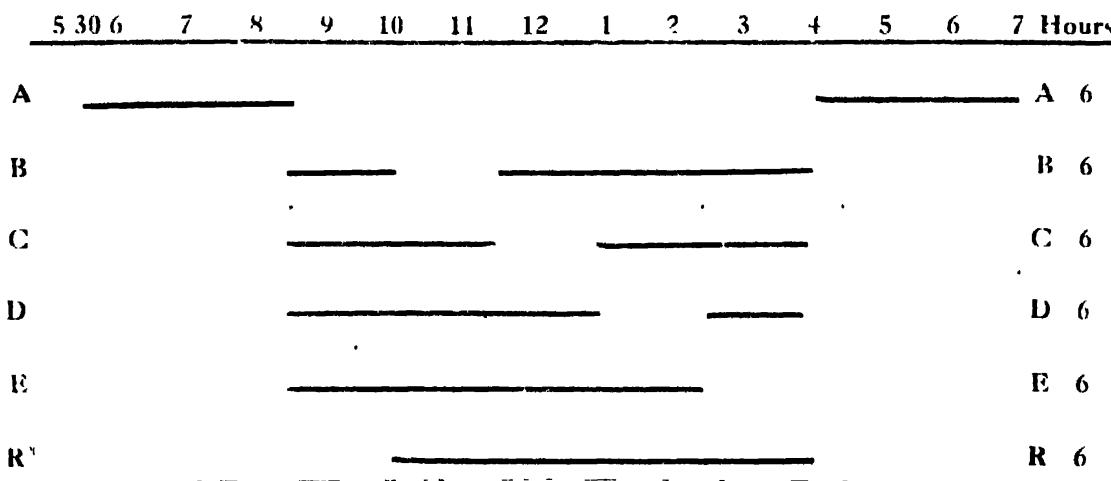
(b) No woman shall be employed in any factory for more than eleven hours in any one day.

Provision is also made under the Act for adequate intervals of rest and for a weekly holiday, on Sunday, except when a holiday is given on some other day (as,

for example, for some religious festival) when such day can be substituted for a Sunday.

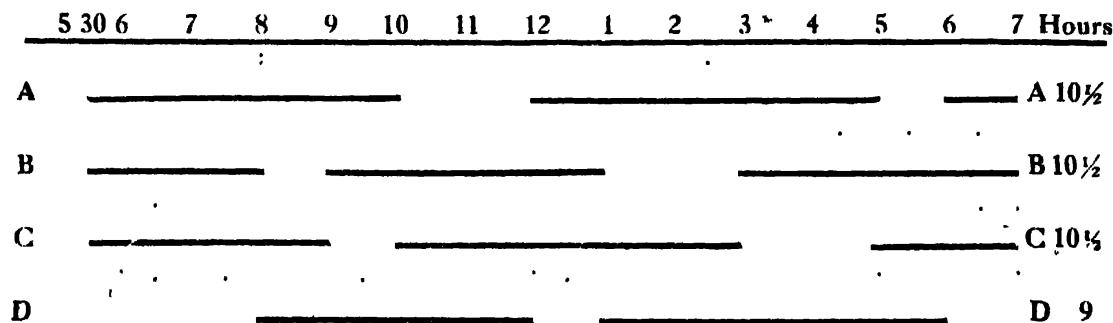
Such is the general aspect of the law with regard to the employment of men, women, and children in textile factories. For the Bengal jute mills, however, such a summary gives only a very inadequate idea of the actual hours of work, for employment is organised on a system of shifts, which in appearance looks very complicated, but which is working, is most efficient and is well understood by all operatives. The actual arrangement of shifts varies, of course, in different mills, but what is given below is typical of the general idea.

#### SHIFTERS (CHILDREN)

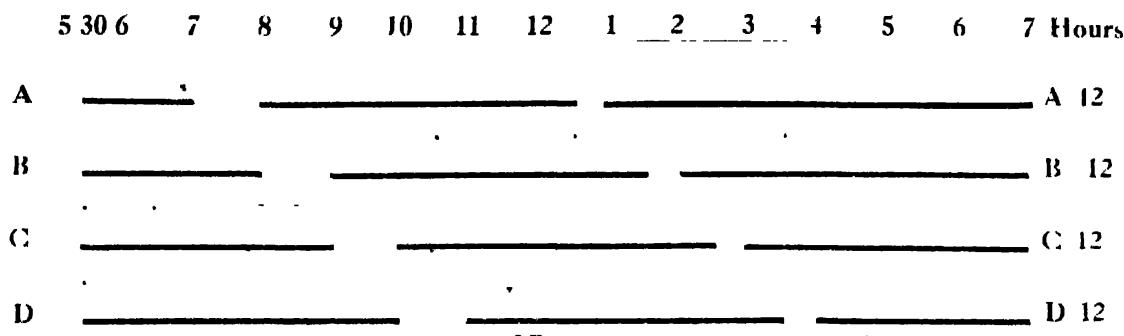


R is a relieving squad which relieves B, C, D & E alternately for 1½ hours

#### ADULTS



WEAVERS



For the purposes of the Act a child is a person between 9 years and 14 years of age. No child can be employed in any factory unless in possession of a certificate granted by the Certifying Surgeon showing that he or she is not less than 9 years of age and that he or she is physically fit for employment in a factory. While at work the child has to carry either the certificate itself or a token giving reference to such certificate. In Bengal children usually wear metal tokens instead of the certificates and these bear not only the serial number of the child as given in the prescribed register of children, but also the letter denoting the shift on which he or she works. This facilitates the work of inspection by the management of the mill as well as by the Inspector of Factories.

*Wages.*—The wages of jute mill operatives are stated by the Industrial Commission to have been as follows in June 1918 (Report, page 11):—

|          |     |    |     |                   |            |
|----------|-----|----|-----|-------------------|------------|
| Carders  | ... | .. | Rs. | 9                 | per mensem |
| Rovers   | ..  | .. | „   | 12                | „          |
| Spinners | ... | .. | „   | 14 <sup>1/2</sup> | „          |
| Shifters | ... | .. | „   | 11                | „          |
| Winders  | ... | .. | „   | 18                | „          |
| Beamers  | ..  | .. | „   | 22                | „          |
| Weavers  | ... | .. | „   | 27                | „          |
| Mistries | ..  | .. | „   | 30                | „          |
| Coolies  | ... | .. | ..  | 13                |            |

The latest figures published by the Chief Inspector of Factories, Bengal, in his report for 1917 (published 1st August 1918) indicate more clearly and perhaps as accurately the relative position as regards earnings of adults, male and female and children or half-timers.

The following figures are average weekly rates :—

|               |                  |                 | Rs. A. | Rs. A. |
|---------------|------------------|-----------------|--------|--------|
| Preparers     | ... { Men ..     | ... 2 8 to 4 0  |        |        |
|               | Women ..         | .. 1 12 ,, 2 6  |        |        |
| Shifters      | ... { Adults ..  | .. 2 0 ,, 3 0   |        |        |
|               | Half-timers ...  | .. 1 4 ,, 1 10  |        |        |
| Piece workers | ... { Men ..     | ... 4 8 ,, 6 0  |        |        |
|               | Women ..         | ... 2 12 ,, 5 0 |        |        |
| Mistries      | ... { Fitters .. | ... 4 8 ,, 8 0  |        |        |
|               | Blacksmiths ...  | .. 5 0 ,, 10 0  |        |        |
|               | Carpenters ...   | .. 5 8 ,, 10 0  |        |        |
|               | Masons ..        | .. 3 8 ,, 6 8   |        |        |
| Coolies       | ... ..           | .. 2 4 ,, 3 0   |        |        |

Of course wages vary somewhat according to the number of days for which the mills work. At present the jute mills are running for only five days a week, and it is possible that owing to trade conditions this may be temporarily reduced to four days a week. In the latter case the earnings of mill operatives would be adversely affected, but the mills would, as previously in such circumstances, pay for five days' work, the fifth day being paid on a separate ticket to disabuse the worker of any idea that his wages had been raised. The nature and general outlook of the worker being what it is it is perhaps not surprising to find the Industrial Commission state that millowners complain of the unwillingness of their labourers to respond to the stimulus of higher wages. "The latter do not as a rule increase their output when engaged on piece work but merely work fewer days in the week." This feature of the labour situation which is said to be also noticeable in the Bombay textile industry, where the general level of wages is somewhat higher than in the mills around

Calcutta, affects and, in a measure, is determined by the general conditions of life of the operatives. If the industrial population becomes settled and raises, to the measure of its income, its standard of life and comfort it is a feature which will be as little prominent in Bengal as it is in the United Kingdom. At the same time it is worthy of notice that this failure to respond to better conditions is not without exception. It has been stated to the writer that in one mill which worked for a time on a single shift of eleven hours instead of by a more complicated system like that above described the hours of the weavers, who are piece workers, were reduced from 12 to 11 per day. The amount of production in the mill was actually greater than before and the weavers, working at the same rates, earned higher wages though they worked one hour less in the day.

*Housing, etc.*—In accordance with the terms of Chapter III of the Factories Act adequate provision has been made for the health and safety of the operatives so far as sanitary arrangements, good conditions of work in the factory, and the fencing of machinery are concerned. Most of the large factories now provide for an ample supply of filtered water. In addition we find, according to the Report of the Chief Inspector of Factories, Bengal, for 1917, that out of 84 textile factories in Bengal 74 have quarters for their employees, accommodating about 100,000 persons. The housing lines constructed by the jute mills vary considerably in character but for the most part are rows of single storied buildings, divided into apartments of one room, frequently with a verandah on one side. Although provision is thus made for a considerable part of the labour employed in the jute mills further development in the direction of adequate housing is both desirable and necessary in view of the large percentage of imported labour employed, and the great pressure on the existing accommodation in many parts. In view of the mobile nature of their labour individual managers are not as a rule willing to set and enforce any

minimum standard of accommodation. The Chief Inspector of Factories, Bengal, in a note submitted to the Indian Industrial Commission declared :—

“ Overcrowding exists in nearly all the existing housing accommodation and managers generally complain of the difficulty of enforcing rules respecting the limitation of accommodation. Government should, in cases of buildings erected in future, enforce a standard of accommodation which should apply to houses owned and controlled by millowners or by private individuals in municipal areas. Existing quarters for operatives built on factory lands or in municipal areas have hitherto been erected in accordance with the design most favoured by individual owners or managers, and in some cases with a view to accommodating as many as possible.

“ It would assist the housing problem considerably if something could be done to ensure some measure of co-operation between municipalities and millowners. In some cases the Municipal authorities appear to be unwilling to do anything to assist progress in the betterment of the conditions under which the working classes live.”

In support of this last statement is quoted a letter from a certain Jute Mills Company to the Indian Jute Mills Associations in which it is stated :—

“ The free supply of good drinking water and attention to sanitary conditions are important. For many years we have held open an offer to supply good filtered water if the pipe lines were extended by the municipality in named areas outside the mills’ jurisdiction, and recently improved that offer by undertaking to instal and maintain the pipe lines and hydrants, provided no extra taxation is placed on that area, no rent increased on account of the improved conditions carried out, and no expense to the rate-payers. To this offer we have no acknowledgment.”

Thus we see that the general situation is that the management of the jute mills is not only regardful of

the conditions in the mills themselves which are conducive to the well-being of the operatives, but has done much in the way of the provision of conditions of life generally for the benefit of such operatives. And it is worthy of note that the Factory Inspectors in Bengal report so definitely year by year on the general good health of the operatives which they attribute in large part to the care paid by millowners to sanitary arrangements, ventilation, and a plentiful supply of good filtered water. Further, the Certifying Surgeon of Factories reports for 1917 that most of the children considered unfit for work were those from villages outside the mill area from which fact he arrives at the general conclusion that children from outside local villages suffer much more from malaria and enlarged spleen than those living within the mill controlled areas.

While thus the general question of the improvement of public health and its importance in relation to the efficiency of industrial labour in India is worthy of immediate and careful consideration, it is evident that for the section of India's industrial population which we have before our view in connection with this paper the conditions of health are good and considerably better than those prevailing in many of the country districts from which the operatives are drawn.

*Welfare Work.*—But when all this has been said it is clear that there is still greater room for improving the lot of the factory operative. During the war immense stimulus has been given in the United Kingdom to the development of what, for want of a better term, is called "welfare work." This development was, in part, determined by the rapid transfer of labour from one centre to another, by the growth of immense new factories for the manufacture of munitions, and by the recruitment of women for industrial employment in unprecedented numbers. It was not, of course, an entirely new feature of the industrial situation, for many employers in the United Kingdom had realised,

as do many of those in this country, that the payment of wages is not a complete fulfilment of their responsibilities for the welfare of their employees. In considering, however, how the spirit of this great development may be applied to the problems of the industrial situation in Bengal it is necessary to note, in order to clear away any misapprehension with regard to it, that whether undertaken by employer or by outside agency it need be regarded neither as a substitute for the direct obligations which should be enforced by law, nor as a piece of disinterested philanthropy. In a publication of the Ministry of Munitions—“The Health of the Munition Worker” (1917)—(page 109)—it is said of welfare work :—

“It will permanently succeed only in so far as it proves to be of definite benefit to the employer and employed alike, and it will fail in so far as any endeavour is made to conduct it in a spirit of patronage or superficial philanthropy.”

Then it is to be assumed that any such work will be based on an adequate wage system. The assumption is sometimes made, from another point of view, that welfare work is done at the expense of wages. Such an assumption is not well made and though labour in India has not yet achieved the independence of spirit of labour in the West there is little likelihood of its being any more tolerant of welfare work done at the expense of its earnings. The argument of facts is, however, all against such an assumption and it has been shown that the general rate of wages in establishments in the West in which welfare work has been developed is in no way lower than in other establishments. In India the industrial worker, who, as we have seen, maintains his connection with the country and is influenced directly thereby against any such rapid rise of his standard of living as might be expected, is likely to gain very decidedly in general efficiency by any wise endeavour which is made to settle him in one place and to stimulate

the advance, moral, physical, and in standard of living, of the community to which he belongs. It is eminently to be desired that the industrial population of the towns should progressively raise its standard of living and of comfort and that in such a matter its progress should not be determined by the more conservative conditions of country life.

One further general point may be noted. It is claimed that welfare work intelligently undertaken is one of the greatest positive forces making for industrial harmony. This is a natural enough result and there is testimony from the West to support it.

In India this is a time when it is necessary to be foreseeing enough to take in hand any measures which may establish on a sure basis of goodwill the relations of employer and employed in order that India's industrial development may not be retarded by disputes, the grounds of which wise action in time would altogether remove.

*Education for Half-timers.*—As we have seen the classes of labour employed in the factories are children or half-timers (from the age of 9 years to 14 years), women and men. With regard to children the conditions of the problem may be regarded as special. There is obviously great need for the development of education amongst the half-timers for this would probably help to accomplish, as much as anything else, the attainment of the objects of wider welfare work. The Indian Factory Commission of 1890 in recommending the reduction of the hours of child labour from 9 to  $6\frac{3}{4}$  as a maximum per day, considered that such change should be accompanied by the development of a system of elementary education for such half-timers. Some of the mills in Bengal tackled the problem and erected schools but these were not regarded as a success as they did not attract the mill children but were chiefly attended by the children of the mill babus and clerks, and of shopkeepers. The situation was not materially altered when

the Factory Commission of 1908 submitted its report. While this Commission felt that every facility and encouragement should be given to promote the education of children working in factories they did not consider that factory owners should be compelled to provide elementary education.

“ We can see no reason why this particular obligation should be placed upon employers of factory labour only, and we know of no analogous provision in this country which could be cited in support of the proposal. Education is not compulsory in India and the class from which the child workers employed in the factories are drawn does not, as a rule, take advantage of the educational facilities which are at present offered.” (Report of Indian Factory Labour Commission of 1908, p. 59.)

This view was endorsed by the Government of India for the amendment to the Factory Bill of 1911, in favour of compulsory elementary education in factories proposed by Mr. Gokhale, failing to meet with support in the Imperial Legislative Council was withdrawn. This amendment proposed the addition of the following sub-clauses to clause 23 of the Bill :—

(1) Every factory in which more than 20 children, between the ages of 9 and 12, are employed shall maintain an elementary school in proper condition for their benefit and attendance at such school for not less than three hours every working day shall be compulsory in the case of each child so employed.

(2) No fees shall be charged for the instruction given in such school.

(Cf. *Gazette of India*, Part VI, 8th April 1911, p. 528.)

Since 1911 there has been considerable development in Bengal in the provision of educational facilities for factory children. A calculation made for certain provinces

in 1913 showed that 17 per cent. of the children employed in the factories in these provinces were actually at school, a percentage which is said to compare not unfavourably with the condition of things with regard to children in general throughout India. But until schemes for general compulsory elementary education are developed Government cannot be expected to take any decided step for the benefit of this special class. At the same time the want of a definite and co-ordinated policy in regard to such localised schemes as have been devised is likely to retard the most beneficial progress.

*Education and Welfare Work at the Buckingham and Carnatic Mills, Madras.*—As typical of what may be done for children and also for adult industrial labourers in this direction the following account may be given of the Buckingham and Carnatic Mills School at Perambur on the outskirts of the city of Madras. These mills are primarily cotton mills where yarn is spun and cloth manufactured. They employ over 10,000 workpeople. In 1904 a school for half-timers was started in the compound of the Buckingham Mill. The strong objection of the Factory Commission of 1908 to the establishment of any school within the compound walls of a factory, from the view that under such conditions many children might be induced in times of labour difficulty to work more than their legal hours, led to the removal of the school to an adjacent compound. Some years later a more decided step was taken and buildings were erected in a large compound of about 18 acres, which was laid out also with gardens, a playing field, and a gymnasium. The buildings include accommodation for the Principals and staff, the school class-rooms, a drawing class-room, a technical lecture-room, a nursery, sick-room, and a kitchen. In addition in a separate open-air shed building are workshops for the teaching of elementary carpentry, blacksmith work, and tailoring.

In 1912, two European ladies, one a graduate, the other a specialist in Kindergarten studies, were appointed as Joint Principals.

Originally the school provided only for half-timers, but subsequently arrangements were made for continuation classes to enable full-timers to continue the studies which they had begun. A still later development was in the line of night lectures on technical subjects. In an account of this school by Sir Clement Simpson and Miss Pearce which appears in Pamphlet 2 of the Bureau of Education (1918), it is stated that, "the first result of starting the schools appeared to be to foster or to inculcate a scholar's ambition to become a writer in the mill. The prospects of a mill writer are small and the object of the schools being to train workmen, the question arose as to how to turn the boys' ideas to something more useful and industrial. To effect this small instructional classes of a technical nature were started so that boys might follow their bent when they become full-timers. Happily this has had the desired effect."

The subjects taught in the schools are—reading and writing in the vernacular (Tamil, Telugu and Hindustani). English (chiefly conversational), arithmetic, drawing, gardening, hygiene, and practical work in carpentry, blacksmith's work, and tailoring. For younger children who are not old enough to be employed the curriculum is simpler. Drill, gymnastics, and games are taught to all the children. The instructional classes referred to include (1) Gardening, (2) Washing and ironing clothes, (3) Carpentry, (4) Painting, white-washing and small repairs to the school premises, (5) Blacksmith's work, (6) Tailoring. In the night school the subjects taught include reading and writing in the vernacular, English and arithmetic which are carried up to the 7th standard.

Regarding other night work we may quote again from the account referred to above.

“ Technical instruction is given in the theory of spinning, weaving, practical electricity, geometrical drawing, machine drawing, and building construction by foremen and draughtsmen from the mills ; and every few months an examination is given by the European officers of the respective departments. They thus may note any special men for promotion in the mills and give them better positions on increased pay according to their merits.”

Other features of this welfare scheme may be briefly noted. One is the crèche in the nursery where babies and small children are left in charge of an ayah, while parents and brothers probably work in the mill. A kitchen has been started where boys may heat up or cook their own food and obtain tea and coffee at cost price. Another recent development was the building in the autumn of 1916 of an institute and library. The institute is available all day for employees off duty and newspapers, periodicals, indoor games and a gramophone are provided for it. The library contains a stock of books in English and in the vernacular languages.

The paper referred to above, from which the main facts of this account have been taken, indicates that it is difficult to estimate the effect of all this work on the output of the mills.

“ They are only boys performing light and necessary but very simple work, but the management of the mills maintain that the school has improved the relations between the general body of the workpeople and the employers, while the European officials assert that they can easily pick out the boys attending school from the others by their greater intelligence, brightness and cleanliness.”

It may be noted that this scheme is on a purely voluntary basis, yet somewhat more than half of the boys employed in the mills attend the school. But the fact that the Buckingham and Carnatic mills are the only large employers of mill labour in their district has, in a sense,

simplified their problem. Where rival mills exist side by side, as in Bengal, the element of competition—especially where the labour force is seldom redundant, tends to militate against very pronounced success. This makes the more necessary the consideration of a definite and co-ordinated policy in the carrying out of which different agencies may co-operate. The recent Industrial Commission express it as their opinion (Report, p. 180) that—

“the first thing to do is to introduce compulsory education in areas where this is possible, applicable to all classes of children, and not merely to those employed in factories. Any consequential amendment of the Factories Act may then be considered.”

*Openings for further Welfare Work.*—The question of what can be done for the general welfare of adult operatives, apart from the direct and indirect beneficial results of a sound educational policy, is one which perhaps can only be adequately discussed after more definite attempts have been made than hitherto to promote such welfare. It is in the undertaking of such work that the greatest needs and opportunities will be revealed. But in support of the general observations which have been made above with regard to welfare work the following statement by the Industrial Commission may be quoted (Report, p. 179) :—

“The problem, not only on moral grounds, but also for economic reasons, must be solved with the least avoidable delay ; if the existing and future industries of India are to hold their own against the ever-growing competition which will be still fiercer after the war. No industrial edifice can be permanent which is built on such unsound foundations as those afforded by Indian labour under its present conditions.

“On the other hand, the margin which the efficiency of the Indian mill hand leaves for improvement is so great that if the problem be successfully solved, the advantage to Indian industry should be very marked.”

This question of industrial efficiency is definitely bound up with the standard of life of the operative and the efforts by which it is hoped that the former will be increased will, if wisely directed, accomplish their purpose by raising the latter. As the Indian Factory Labour Commission of 1908 pointed out the average operative in a textile factory earns more than the amount required to keep himself and his family in the standard of comfort to which they have been accustomed. Partly owing to this fact and partly to the monotonous and wearing life he leads the operative frequently spends a considerable portion of his earnings on drink. That the question of intemperance is a serious one is only too sufficiently clear to those acquainted with the conditions of jute mill labour. In mill areas from the facilities which are afforded it is only too easy for the worker to yield to the temptation to drink intoxicating liquors, and one very definite and valuable step which could be taken would be in the way of the provision of counter attractions to the liquor shop. In centres where a larger number of operatives are employed institutes might be established, the activities of which might be many sided. An institute might maintain not only a temperance canteen for tea, coffee, aerated waters and light refreshments but also a library, reading rooms, rooms available for the use of night classes and for indoor games, and a lecture hall which could be used for both serious and light recreation. A cinema would be a most useful possession for such an institute. Much might be done in the way of popular lectures to stimulate the operative's interest in his factory life and work. And as the Industrial Commission point out (Report, p. 191) :—

“ There are many subjects on which the urban working classes require instruction. The rules of health, diet, and sanitation ; the care of children ; the evils of intemperance ; all these are matters which require to be constantly pressed on the attention of operatives.”

But such an institute as is here suggested would do still more for the health of the operatives if it could make provision for a gymnasium and a large playing field in which open air sports and athletics might be actively encouraged.

*Co-operation.*—The provision for the industrial worker of facilities for healthy recreation and opportunities for a useful spending of leisure hours is one direction in which welfare work amongst adults might develop profitably. In another direction there is a great field for the encouragement of thrift and for the stimulation of methods of co-operation. One of the main lines in which co-operation might be directed is that of co-operative stores. This form of non-credit co-operative enterprise is one in which conspicuous success has been attained in the United Kingdom, where co-operative stores cater, in the main part, for the working classes. The beginnings of the movement in England were humble enough and in view of its present extent and importance one looks back with something like wonder to the efforts of the 28 distressed weavers of Lancashire who constituted themselves the Rochdale Society of Equitable Pioneers, and opened a shop with a total capital of £28. But their ideas were both big and practical. Co-operative enterprise has often failed because of the failure of those who have sought to reap its benefits for themselves or others to realise that life must develop from within. The immediate setting down of co-operative stores in mill areas might not be a wise policy until a very considerable amount of preliminary work had been done in fostering and advancing the co-operative idea. The Maclagan Committee on co-operation in India take a thoroughly conservative view in this matter, and consider that, in relation to non-credit co-operation,—

“ It is essential that the demand for such societies should arise not merely from external suggestion or the hope of effecting some small economy but from the existence of a

real need and from a comprehension on the part of their originators of all that is implied in the term co-operation ; and, secondly, it is scarcely less important that a strong and competent staff should be available for the supervision of such societies and for dealing with the complicated economic problems involved." (Report of Committee on Co-operation in India (1915), p. 7.)

It is well that such important considerations should be recognized, but in recommending the encouragement of distributive co-operation in jute mill areas it is assumed that amongst such an industrial population the principles of co-operation would be both soon grasped and firmly maintained, and that from being regarded as a barrier to such development the fluctuating nature of such population would rather tend to be radically altered with the emergence of a new common interest which it was to the profit of all to uphold.

The situation is confessedly more difficult in relation to schemes for credit co-operation, though in certain directions, the need is not the less great. It is maintained that many workers involve themselves in indebtedness from which largely owing to the methods of their money-lender creditors they have little hope of recovering. The Servants of India Society in the west of India have already done a considerable amount through their Debt Redemption Committee in forming co-operative societies amongst workmen and have shown how with the aid of outside loans and deposits many of those who have got into the clutches of the money-lender can be set free. In this connection it is interesting to note that the Bombay Provincial Co-operative Conference held at Poona in September 1917, passed the following resolution regarding the extension of co-operative credit societies to factory workers :—

(i) Due efforts should be made to start one or more separate co-operative credit societies for workmen in each factory.

(ii) The Registrar may be requested to frame by-laws for such societies and distribute them broadcast among factory owners and factory workmen.

(iii) The factory owners should be induced to afford all facilities in their power to establish such societies.

There are possibilities for the development of co-operation in other directions also as for example along the line of mutual life assurance societies. Reference might also be made to the need for benefit and provident funds in connection with factories and for some common and recognised scheme for the compensation of injuries received by workers. For development in these directions it is, however, to the employer that we must chiefly look. Sufficient has been said to show how the spirit of co-operation if rightly appreciated by the industrial worker and wisely applied may be made to do much towards the betterment and enrichment of his life.

*Conclusion.*—In suggesting education, healthy recreation and co-operation in its different aspects as the main lines along which welfare work amongst the jute mill operatives in Bengal may be directed it must again be noted that the furthering of welfare work and its ultimate scope will be determined in large part by the manner in which it is undertaken. Of the total jute mill employees nearly 70,000 are women and children and naturally, though their needs may in general be assimilated to those of the male adult population, they have their special features and they ought to be catered for along separate lines.

In conclusion it may be reiterated that welfare work is ultimately an economic proposition for perhaps only now have we been awakened to the fact of the complete dependence of efficient output on the welfare of the human agent. That may be a positive argument for the undertaking of such work. It may be better regarded as a strong negative argument in its favour. For the one great argument is simply the obligation resting on the employer and finally on the

community to ensure to each worker the fullest possibilities of life. Where conditions are such as to work against the fulfilment of such possibilities the obligation of the community becomes the clearer and must be discharged by positive legislation. Welfare work should never be used as a means for retarding wise labour laws. But when Government has gone as far as it can in defining the legal obligation of the employer there is still a great field in which what is now known as welfare work may be done.

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## RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE AND HISTORY.

BY ALBAN G. WIDGERY.

**H**OW are we to reconcile the historical process with the religious experience felt immediately? If the highest and truest relation to God is one of immediate communion with Him, what is the significance of the efforts and aims of history? Does the highest religious attitude necessitate the rejection of the values of human experience which are to be found in the daily life of all but the most unfortunate individuals? Are the goods of the body, of the intellect, of art, or morality, simply so many distractions from the contemplation and love of God? Or is it that in the pursuit, day by day, year by year, and century by century, of these goods, we are achieving at least something that is essential? Is it necessary to give up either all that makes the historical process of value, or to give up religious experience? Or is it somehow possible to reconcile the two—to find in the experiences of time the substance of eternity? Eastern, and especially Indian thought has paid very little attention to history—its religious redemption has seemed to lie chiefly in asceticism and in the contemplation of the eternal. Western thought has at its centre the conviction that the course of the world is being in some degree moulded by the activities of men, and that in those activities, in history the good is becoming known and achieved. Such questions indeed raise the problem of the relation of time to eternity, always one of the most troublesome of metaphysics, but to enter into a serious metaphysical discussion is here out of place.

True, the great prophets and saints have continually preached against the world and its riches as opposed to the ultimate welfare of the soul. And, at the first glance, it would seem that for the majority of men there is no need to emphasise the values of a non-religious kind. Yet while the recluse and the *sadhu* ought perhaps to be called back to the haunts and the activities of their fellow-men, ordinary men need to be called in part away from the passing experiences to the thought of others equally real but too much neglected.

Strive as men may to escape from the historical process, they always fail. The contemplative ascetic reduces the variety of his experiences: he shuts out many of the aspects of life and occupies his attention with ideas and thoughts—sometimes of God—sometimes of his own finite self—sometimes with the thought that even thought itself keeps him from complete absorption. If the historical process, these changes in time, these values of daily life, these results of so much of our effort, are all delusions, it is legitimate to ask: “Whose delusions?” They can only be the delusions suffered by some reality. The only reality usually acknowledged by those maintaining this view, is the one universal consciousness, or the Absolute. Consider for a moment the crux to which this leads. The one reality, the universal consciousness is supposed to be perfect. But it must be the universal consciousness which is suffering the myriads of delusions called individual beings and the historical events which go to make up the lives of those beings: to sink back into absorption into a deluded Absolute, a deluded God, that is no redemption—that is nothing for which to abandon the good of the historical life.

It is of the very essence of morality that moral values are not to be merely known, but also striven for, not only by and for the individual but also for the society and the race. Either the historical process means something or the

moral efforts of individuals and peoples appear worse than meaningless. If the Absolute is perfect from the beginning, and the individuals are to be absorbed back into it, what is the value or significance of the historical process? The Absolute is *ex hypothesi* perfect—so that the historical efforts and achievements are not for the good of the Absolute. The individual disappears and there is no further distinction between himself and the Absolute—so that the benefit of the historical process does not accrue to the individual. Thus the attitude which rejects the historical and tries to find the only real value in the transcendent religious experience—a sense of absorption into the infinite—whatever that may mean—must be declared wanting and unconvincing.

From such a conception one may pass over to the opposite view, which regards the historical alone as real. Just these constant changes, just this one thing after another, and so on for ever—life is nothing but that—constant struggle and constant change. This attitude does insist on the enjoyment of all sorts of values as they come or may be achieved, and these may include some religious experiences. Nevertheless the position has always been felt to be unsatisfying. Not only are the goods of daily life required, but men are aware of a genuine desire for permanent values, for enduring goods. The human spirit appreciates the richness and variety of experience, but longs also for a permanence, a restfulness, a peace. Reality as a mere flux has occasionally been the thesis of philosophers, but it has never been a doctrine of religion. A Golden Age in the past or a Heaven in the future, that is how mankind has imagined a condition better than the passing show. The idea of a Golden Age in the past has lost its force for us. The Heaven in the future—the exact when, where and how is not the question of the moment—is still the hope of many and an inspiration to bear present ills. In so far as experience is not as

good as men wish, some gazing into the future seems inevitable.

Thus the values of the historical life must be retained, and yet the desire for something permanent above change must be appreciated and satisfied. The historical process, with its discontent, the present events and efforts to attain a better condition, the attention to the series of changes, has somehow to be brought into harmony with the immediate experience of religious peace. Both sides are necessary. And the experience of change implies a transcendence of it. The so-called passing values may not be merely passing, but have in them an element of duration : and the difference between this and the permanence desired is only one of degree. In earnest occupation in serious work, in the production or the contemplation of art, music, literature and drama, in great moral actions, we are as it were out of mere flowing movement in an eternal present. In each particular experience as enjoyed there is a degree of satisfaction of the demand for permanence. Change is transcended, even though one is at the same time aware of changes : in fact, only by transcending change is it possible to know it. Think for an example of the hearing and understanding of a sentence. The experience is not simply of one sound, then another, and so on to the end of the sentence, each separate and cut off from the other. Although each word is separate, is individual, the meaning of the sentence is understood only by the capacity of the mind to grasp all the words together as the expression of the judgment in the mind of the person who says the sentence. The same is true of the appreciation of a musical melody. Only because the notes are not experienced merely individually but are also in some manner grasped together, is the enjoyment or the understanding of a melody possible. Human experience is thus not a series of unattached moments of infinitesimal length—each like a knife edge. Each “present,” each “now,”

each "value," has length, has duration. There is not simply a transition from state to state, but also a consciousness of the transition, a knowledge of different elements in a unity, of change within the present. This experience of a *tout ensemble*, a synoptic aspect, as it has been called, is of fundamental importance in every sphere of life. The trained mathematical mind is one which is able to grasp particular kinds of series of sentences as related and having a meaning, and this in a manner impossible to the non-mathematical mind. A trained musical mind can understand and appreciate a great musical work as a whole : others may be able to grasp only short series of notes, melodies and chords. The higher the capacity of the mind in any type of experience the broader its grasp. But this breadth does not do away with the individual factors, or the changes occurring within it. In this manner the divine consciousness may be conceived, not as a mere philosophic abstraction, but as possessing a grasp which comprehends all. The human mind is not the victim of a mere series of changes, but itself comprehends and transcends the changes. It thus has within it a capacity to satisfy the two sides—the historical—that of change,—and the immediately religious—that of transcendence of change. The two sides influence one another. The comprehensiveness of the mind varies in particular ways with the course of development and progress—intellectual, artistic, moral and religious. It is a definite moral advance when a member of a family subordinates his merely individual good to the greater good of the family. It is a further advance when the mere family is subordinated to the greater good of the nation. Still higher is the position in which patriotism is dominated by the idea of the wider whole of humanity. History is constituted by the efforts to achieve and to enjoy the wider positions ; a process by which a state of comprehensiveness is to be reached which will include the variety of daily experience,

The relation of the historical process to the immediate religious experience may be typified by a rough illustration. The historical process may be likened to a climb up a mountain rising up gradually from an extensive plain, reaching on all sides to the horizon. The climber sets his gaze upwards, but also notices the beauties of the surrounding plain. The higher he goes, the fresher the air, the more invigorating the atmosphere, and the wider the outlook. Even before he reaches the top he gains a certain inspiration by gazing in anticipation towards it. The religious experience is the gazing up to God. But there is this difference, the relation in religion is felt as personal. The closer to the top of the mountain—the further along the road of historical effort—the closer to God and at the same time a wider and fuller experience. The process is thus not simply forwards through history but also upwards—and both lead to God. Not one but many are the climbers and they all start from different points on the plain. As they mount higher, they get closer and may interchange information concerning the view and even as to the best means of reaching the summit. So, as history goes on, the different elements of humanity seem to get more and more bound up with one another, especially in the production of goods—physical, intellectual, artistic, moral and religious—country with country, west with east, south with north. There is now a world-wide exchange of all kinds of values. The art of different countries is gradually becoming an object of world-wide interest. The moral character of a people will become a concern of other peoples, that is one of the meanings of the War. These, however, are all questions of the plain and the mountain side. What of the gaze to the summit, the religions? Here hardly a beginning of co-operation has been made. The different peoples ascending from different sides have in the past most often thought that they alone could see the summit. Nevertheless there are some signs that men will

gradually acknowledge that each religion may possess some truths that the others do not possess, or that some truths are better expressed in one religion than in the others, or they may come to the belief that some peoples have got nearer to the summit, even that one religion is the best of religions, and that it should be adopted by all. The answer to our problem seems to be that the pursuit of all the goods of life aids in the approach to God ; that the social co-operation by which these goods are achieved and a wider outlook is gained is particularly important ; that at the same time through the fact that men transcend the mere changes of their experience they are able to gaze upwards and so to enter into a personal relation to God. The further one climbs the better one can see the top of the mountain : the more men progress in history the more fitted are they to enter into a worthy relationship to God. The religious experience, instead of ruling out the historical, demands it, and should be, as it often is, an inspiration to men in their struggles upward.

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## CRIMES IN ANCIENT INDIA.

BY GOKULNATH DHAR.

“All that is old is not on that account  
Worthy of praise, nor is a novelty  
By reason of its newness to be censured.  
The wise decide not what is good or bad  
Till they have tested merit for themselves :  
A foolish man trusts to another’s judgment.”

*Malavikagnimitra.*

THE two outstanding features of penal laws which mark the earliest forms of criminal legislation in India,—and, in fact, of all ancient countries,—are severity and inconsistency. The earliest laws of Greece and Rome were cruel ; “The Laws of the Twelve Tables”, says Gibbon, “like the statute of Draco, were written in characters of blood.” In England too in various instances, particularly in that of theft, the laws were for a long time not only severe but rather inhuman.

The third characteristic feature of the criminal code of old is the belief in the supposed justice of the *lex talionis* : whatever the injury caused by a wrongdoer to an innocent member of society, the very same or a similar injury was to be imposed upon the delinquent by way of punishment ; whatever limb the offender had used in committing a crime, upon that very limb must chastisement be inflicted. The forfeit of limb for limb, and member for member was among the Romans enjoined by the Law of Twelve Tables. According to Egyptian law, he who divulged the secrets of the State had his tongue cut out ; who violated a free woman was made a eunuch ; and so forth.

In India this law of retaliation is best illustrated by cases of assault and battery. “With whatever member a low-born man shall assault or hurt a superior, even that

member of his shall be slit or cut more or less in proportion to the injury ; this is an ordinance of Manu." (Chapter VIII, 379.) Accordingly, if a person put out both the eyes of another, the magistrate was empowered to deprive the criminal of both of his eyes, and could at the same time pronounce a sentence of fine and perpetual imprisonment. The *raison d'être* of such penal measures seems to be that in an early stage of social and intellectual development the real distinction between retribution and reparation was little understood : the penal loss of "an eye for an eye", or of "a tooth for a tooth" was commonly regarded as a reparation to the person originally maimed. Even in civilised England of the present day some jurists, influenced possibly by Bentham, speak of the "vindictive satisfaction" that becomes the portion of an injured individual, as an important factor in the utility of punishments ! Thus Sir James Fitzjames Stephen remarks in his "General View of England" : "The benefits which criminal law produces are twofold. In the first place, it prevents crime by terror ; in the second place, it regulates, sanctions and provides a *legitimate satisfaction* for the passion of revenge ; the criminal law stands to the passion of revenge in much the same relation as marriage to the sexual appetite."

In the early days of Indian civilisation, death or some sort of corporal chastisement seems to have been meted out as punishment for theft. The Code of Manu includes under "Theft" various cases of fraud also. Minor sorts of theft were punished with fines and with one or other kind of mutilation ; but the higher species were visited with capital punishment. (Manu, Chapter VIII, 319-336.) The Chhandogya Upanishad (Chapter VI, 16) thus describes the scene of a trial of theft : "They bring a man hither whom they have taken by the hand, and they say 'He has taken something, he has committed theft'. [When he denies, they say] 'Heat the hatchet for him'. If he committed the theft, then he grasps the heated hatchet, he

is burnt, and he is killed. But if he did not commit the theft, then he grasps the heated hatchet, he is not burnt, and he is delivered." In regard to inferior cases which were ordinarily punishable with a fine only, the amount of fine inflicted increased in accordance with the height of the rung of the social ladder to which the offender by birth belonged. (Manu, Chapter VII, 337-338). This is indeed a curious departure from the established practice of the age, which was ever ready to overlook or deal with undue leniency for graver offences committed by high caste people. No corporal punishment, much less death, could be inflicted on the Brahmin for any crime whatsoever that he might have been guilty of (Chapter VIII, 124-125),—the utmost penalty which a member of the privileged caste could be subjected to, being banishment, "but with all his property secure, and his body unhurt". (Manu, Chapter VIII, 380.)

Theft, adultery, drunkenness and murder were looked upon as the most heinous of offences. "Adultery" was a very comprehensive term to use: the term was used to express all forms of unlawful sexual indulgence, from the least harmful to the most injurious and offensive. The Code of Manu (Chapter VIII, 352-387) depicts with almost nauseating precision every conceivable abuse or crime that this term was meant to include, and provides different penalties for different degrees of the crime, the minutest possible detail being carefully weighed in each separate case. In pronouncing sentences, however, the rank and caste of the convict had to be taken into consideration; the holy Dharmashastra tacitly enjoined that there should be one law for the ordinary people and another for persons belonging to the privileged high castes. It was clearly laid down that for the very same offence committed, a common Sudra offender must suffer far more than an offending Brahmin: the degree of punishment bore an inverse ratio to the loftiness of the caste of which the culprit was a member. Accordingly, when a Brahmin was convicted of

adultery, the punishment was comparatively light ; if the culprit were a Kshatriya or a Vaishya, the punishment would be more severe ; should it be a Sudra, the punishment must be violent and cruel. A man of any of the first three castes who committed adultery with a Sudra woman was banished ; but a Sudra male who committed adultery with a woman of the first three castes had the capital sentence passed upon him. (Manu, Chapter VIII, 359.) It has already been remarked that the Hindu penal code did not sanction any damage to the person or property of a Brahmin, be the crime committed by him ever so dark,—the worst punishment that a king's wrath could pronounce against him being banishment from the realm. But when a Brahmin slew a Brahmin, violated his Guru's bed, stole another Brahmin's gold, or drank spirituous liquor, the king branded him on the forehead with a heated iron prior to pronouncing the sentence of banishment. When a man of the lower caste murdered a Brahmin, his sure lot was death and forfeiture of property ; if, however, the victim belonged to the same rank as the slayer, or to a lower caste, other adequate punishments were provided according to the exigencies of the case. (Manu, Chapter VIII, 364-365.)

The Hindu laws of punishment as embodied in the Dharmasastras present a dismal picture utterly unrelieved by the least touch of pity for the non-Brahmin criminal : it looks as if the law-givers were absolute strangers to the dictum of "mercy tempering justice." Adulterers were enjoined to be put to death on Damien's bed of steel ; goldsmiths who forged were to be cut to pieces with sharp razors ; those who damaged public roads, or filled up ditches, or obstructed water courses, or threw down or destroyed their neighbour's landmarks, must, in accordance with these rigorous laws, be either chastised corporeally, or made to pay a fine, or be banished from the kingdom. Robbery was sought to be exterminated by prescribing that the

perpetrators thereof should be decapitated, the execution to take place in much-frequented thoroughfares ; while burglars were directed to be maimed with a view to their being incapacitated for further mischief. To coerce the Sudras to hold a very inferior position in society and to instil into them the belief that their status was as far removed from that of the Brahmins as hell is from heaven, various punishments were contemplated for the erring ones. If a Sudra listened to the recitation of the Vedas, his ears should be stopped with molten lead or tin ; if he recited the Vedas his tongue should be cut out ; or, if he remembered Vedic texts, his body should be cut in twain ! As an antidote for Sudra insolence, the Brahminic laws provided that if a Sudra would dare to seize a Brahmin by the locks, or by the throat, he must instantly have deep incisions made in his hands !

Hell would indeed have been a more blessed region to live in, than this Bharatavarsha where such monstrous laws prevailed ; and a Montesque or a Beccario, should he have been living in that age, might with very good reason shudder and exclaim in the words of Horace—

Let's have a rule  
Which deals to crime an equal punishment :  
Nor torturing with the lash for faults  
Worthy a birchen twig.

As a matter of fact, however, these horrible punishments have never been put into practice ; they “ always remained an empty threat and a threat only.” The Brahmin legislators of old, observes Mr. R. C. Dutt (Civilisation in Ancient India), “ were anxious to emphasise the distinction between themselves and the other castes and specially Sudras, and have therefore represented the laws as tenfold more iniquitous than they were as actually administered by sensible kings and Kshatriya officers and even by Judges.” No less an authority than Sir Henry Sumner Maine, who made the study of ancient law his special

province has pertinently remarked :—“The Hindoo Code called the Laws of Manu, which is certainly a Brahmin compilation, undoubtedly enshrines many genuine observances of the Hindu race, but the opinion of the best contemporary orientalists is, that it does not, as a whole, represent a set of rules ever actually administered in Hindustan.” Again, the Hindu code is not altogether the very dark cloud that at first sight it seems to be: it, too, has its silver lining; and it does one’s heart good to find that even in this primitive age the right of self-defence, both of person and of property, was allowed. “By killing an assassin who attempts to kill, whether in public or in private, no crime is committed by the slayer: fury recoils upon fury.” (Manu, Chapter VIII, 351.) A man may slay an *Atatayin* who comes to slay, even if the latter “knows the whole of the Vedas, together with the Upanishads.” (Vasistha, Chapter III, 15-18.)

Sir Monier Monier-Williams has observed (Indian Wisdom) that “the most objectionable feature in the penal code [of India] is not cruel retaliation, which was more a matter of theory than practice, but the leniency with which Brahmins were directed to be treated.” This inconsistency is easily accounted for. Although Justice has been represented as weighing men’s fate in the balance blindfolded, without taking into consideration the importance or otherwise of the parties concerned, laws made by human agency have not till lately been altogether impartial. It should be borne in mind that the Brahmins came to India as conquerors, and the conquered aboriginal races were represented by the Sudras. It is no wonder, therefore, that the conquering Brahmins should have one set of laws for themselves and another set for the conquered Sudras. This inequality of laws between the conqueror and the conquered, between priest and layman, has not been unknown in the history of the world. In ancient Greece the laws that held sway over the Helots were not the same as those by which

the Greeks themselves were ruled ; the Patricians had little esteem for the laws that held the Plebeians in awe in the glorious days of Rome. In Mediæval Europe the rules which determined the destiny of monks and barons differed widely from those which were called into requisition when laymen and serfs were concerned. Comparatively recent history repeats the same tale : it was thought just and expedient to provide one set of laws for the white man as against a different set for the governance of the Negro or the Redman.

The history of the development and liberalisation of the early penal laws of Hindustan is shortly told, it differs in no way from the history of the evolution of saner laws in modern civilised countries. The laws we have been depicting came into operation some two thousand years ago on the most modest computation. Retaliation and cruel penalties, as we have seen, were, with the law-givers of old, the main things to aim at ; in course of time, and by very slow and almost imperceptible degrees, the primitive views underwent serious and material changes, till the initial motives were to a great extent modified. Law, as now conceived, has a larger mission to fulfil than to coerce the criminal by sheer weight of brutal punishments and force him by severity to mend his ways.

GOKULNATH DHAR.

*Calcutta.*

## MADRAS NABOBS.

BY H. DODWELL.

THE Nabob, Macaulay tells us, was in the popular conception of the later 18th century, a gentleman with a tawny complexion, a bad liver, and a worse heart. He was savage-tempered, wickedly rich, and vulgarly ostentatious. Clive might describe him in the House of Commons as a humane master, a benevolent citizen, and a hospitable friend; and claim that none was flagitious enough for Foote to mimic at the Haymarket. But he spoke too soon. It was not long before that actor presented Sir Matthew Mite, surrounded by all the pomp of Asia, profusely scattering the spoils of ruined provinces, committing to memory the newest oaths, and learning to flourish the dice-box with a fashionable air. This caricature was intended to represent the hero of Plassey himself. The moral indignation and fastidious contempt with which Nabobs were generally mentioned cannot in truth be contemplated without ironical amusement. One can only remember with a smile that this virtuous generation tolerated the corruption of Rigby and the sensuality of Old Q; that this age of taste amused itself by pulling down mediæval churches in order to raise Gothic rains in their pleasure-grounds; and that wits who could hardly spell looked down upon Nabobs for their innocence of Greek and Latin. Some of the accusations were just; but they were commonly made by persons who in character, acquirements or taste were little better than those whom they condemned. The average Nabob was very different from the popular conception.

The proof is afforded us by papers which reveal the inner, social life of Anglo-Indian settlements—the papers of the old Mayor's Courts which formerly existed at Calcutta,

**Bombay and Madras.** The suits reveal a hundred curious traits. The wills and inventories of deceased persons indicate much more than the value of their estates. They unlock their owners' wardrobes, discover their book-shelves, and introduce the curious reader into the secret places of their households. Nor can an impression so derived be flattering —no man is a hero to his valet, and the test of what he leaves behind and his disposition of it is in reality severe. When we can count a lady's rouge-pots or a gentleman's mistresses, we are not likely to mistake the complexion of the one or the morals of the other. With the aid of such intimate materials, the present writer hopes to outline with tolerable exactness the social history of Madras in the 18th century.

The political revolution which transformed the position of the English in India transformed also the social structure of their principal settlements. About the year 1700 there were at Madras 27 covenanted servants of the Company, half-a-dozen military officers, and 68 other Europeans. One-half of these last were merchants, residing and trading at the place ; the other half sea-faring men with their headquarters there. Of this whole body of about a hundred men, only 38 were married, half to European women, the rest to casteez, musteez, and other varieties of half-castes. This state of things lasted till about 1750. Then a sudden development took place. The Company's covenanted servants on the Coast rose from about 50 to nearly 200 by the end of the century ; the surgeons were increased from 4 to 112 ; the military officers, who, in 1746, had numbered a dozen or 14, had risen in 1756 to 87, in 1775 to 412, and in 1800 to 652. At Madras itself the number of Europeans, neither covenanted nor military servants of the Company, rose from less than 40 in 1755 to over 200 in 1799.

This change in numbers involved a change in structure. In the earlier period society had been not only extremely small but also extraordinarily simple. Its main feature was

an entire absence of specialisation. Surgeon and soldier were alike promoted into Council and expected to share, not only in political deliberations, but also in sorting the Company's investment. Sea-captains were expected to be engineers as well as navigators; and many laymen were as good theologians as their chaplain. The member of Council would not hesitate at a pinch to take command of a company of foot or administer a dose of physic; and all alike, covenanted servant, soldier, cleric and surgeon, were familiar with the intricacies of invoices and bills of lading, and, one may be sure, attended every sale at the Sea Gate.

For everyone traded, whatever his rank or occupation. It was the principal business of the covenanted servants; but everyone else did the same. The cases which look the oddest in modern eyes are those of the soldier, the chaplains, and the ladies. Yet there can be no doubt of it. A lieutenant transferred from Madras to Sumatra provides himself with an investment to sell at his new station. Another made prisoner by the French and carried into Pondichery, amuses his enforced leisure by such vigorous trading as astonishes his hosts. Another retails arrack. Nor was this traffic in any way clandestine. In 1741 the Madras Council support their proposal to raise the officers' pay by observing, "our country trade is at so low an ebb that any credit they may have with the merchants can be of no service to them in these days."

Chaplains, however, were not supposed to trade. One was dismissed for it in 1721—"he hath exchanged his study for a counting-house and is turned supercargo." Salmon observes, "How they manage it is a mystery to me, for they are not supposed to trade openly and yet frequently lay up several thousand pounds." Nor was it only Protestants who acted thus. For a long time the Capuchins at Madras acted as agents for the sale of French silver and the provision of cargoes for Pondichery merchants.

As for women-traders, Lockyer tells us that they drove as large a trade as the men and with no less judgment. "Nay," he adds, "some are so forward as to have invoyces, accounts current, etc., in their own names, though their husbands are in being." Dutch women, we know, traded largely, because the Dutch Company forbade private trade to its servants ; and at Pondichery the wife of the Secretary to Government was selling chintz and carpets in 1745. Women indeed would obviously prove valuable agents, for they could excite the curiosity and desires of *gosha* ladies until the latter made their husbands buy them what was offered.

Thus at first society was small and homogeneous. As it grew in size, its various parts rapidly differentiated, and each tended to confine itself to a special function. The covenanted servants still divided their attention between Government and trade, but as political interests grew in importance, towards the close of the century, even they were divided into two branches ; and those who elected to join the Revenue branch were excluded from commercial advantages.

Much more marked was the change in the officers. At first they had been overwhelmed by numbers, unable to resist the predominant tone of the world in which they lived. But their rapid growth in numbers, with the importance and frequency of their employment on active service, fostered the growth of an *esprit de corps* sharply marking them off from the rest of society. Of the older type of officer little is known ; but in many cases they had been promoted from the ranks, and neither their conduct nor the possessions which they left behind them warrant any belief in their military efficiency. One died having accumulated a sum of over £2,000 in the course of his service, but his library consisted only of "12 old books" ; another was evidently making money by selling "slops" to his men, but his means of mental recreation were almost

equally limited. One who had himself served as an officer at Fort St. George declared he had known but three "proper to face an enemy." They were appointed, he says, on the principle that, as little service was needed, any man would do, whereas in fact, since they could learn nothing, only experienced officers should be selected.

The wars which followed from 1750 onwards quickly changed all this. We now find it usual to possess military works. "The Exercise of the Horse-Dragoon," the "Foot-Soldier's Companion," Bland's "Military Discipline," the "Catlet," Wolf's "Instructions," Simes' "Military Medley," and so forth, occur frequently. Prussian influence is shown by the frequent occurrence of the "Regulations of the Prussian Infantry"; French by the works of Vauban, of Puységur, Sake's "Rêverie," and the memoirs of Turenne. Artillery officers possess the "Perfect Engineer and Bombardier," Guthrie's "Grammar" or Muller's "Artillery." In short, the Company's officers are now professional soldiers.

Even so, however, the change was not sudden or complete. Clive might declare trade to be "a study very foreign to an officer"; but it only died out gradually. In 1778 we find "The Trader's Pocket-Companion" on an officer's book-shelf. In the following year another officer accompanying a mission to Hyderabad carried along with him goods which he hoped, but failed, to sell at profit. Even in 1795 a lieutenant was offering cloth for sale; and such transactions were only prohibited in 1826.

A similar tendency was found elsewhere. In the early part of the century the skill of surgeons in India was small—indeed technical knowledge developed rapidly in Europe during the period we are considering. Did not the spectator liken physicians to the ancient Britons, since some slew on foot and some from chariots? In India, especially in the service of native princes, we find most curious examples.

A French deserter from Pondichery became surgeon-in-ordinary to the Great Moghul. One of the surgeons of the Nawab of Arcot ran away with his pearls. Another, employed by Mahfuz Khan, was used for political intrigue. In 1727 one of Hyder Ali's surgeons, a Hanoverian Jew, reached Madras, where he turned baker. The Company's surgeons were doubtless better than these ; but in 1756 a private soldier was reported to have made several cures with success, and six years later, having been sent up to Bengal he was examined as to his fitness to serve as surgeon. Another such was tried for murder, having administered to a fellow-soldier an emetic which "worked hard" so that he died. Thus there were many specimens of a type of which Niccolas Manucci is the most illustrious example.

Instead of these amateur practitioners a regular service was established. The growth of the European population, and the certainty of extensive employment, attracted a better-trained and educated class. Again, the inventories prove its existence, as in the case of the officers. From time to time respectable lists of medical works occur. Other evidence exists to show that one surgeon at least was remarkable for his talents. This was Gilbert Pasley, who came out in 1756 and died at Madras in 1781. The wills abound with legacies to him. One leaves him his sapphire-ring set round with diamonds ; another his silver basin with its ewer. He consistently refused payment from those whom he benefited by his skill, and at his death men said that Madras could never boast of such another.

Similarly with the gentleman of the robe. At the beginning of the century Lockyer described them as "broken linnen-drappers and other crack'd tradesmen who seek their fortunes here by their wits." The description, though severe probably, is not unjust. Between 1758 and 1760 one attorney was a man-of-all-work who had served Clive in his

commissariat business. Three more were young Company's servants. Another was a decayed mariner, and yet another a discharged soldier, who had also been butcher to the garrison. But in the later period we find, besides an officer or two who preferred the robe to the sword, barristers and attorneys from London and Dublin, with considerable law-libraries of their own ; so that clients could be led through all the stages of Bill and Answer, Replication and Rejoinder, Surrejoinder and Rebutter, to the joining of issues, the examination of witnesses and the finding of the Court, with almost as much delay, expense, and bewilderment as in Westminster Hall.

Thus branch after branch of professional men shot away from the parent commercial stem. One yet remained—that of education. Until far beyond the middle of the 18th century, I believe the only school at Madras was the Charity School, or rather schools ; but these were not designed for Europeans. In this respect at all events, Madras was at a great disadvantage as compared with Pondichery, where the Jesuits had long shown their accustomed zeal in the cause of education. So early as 1711 they were providing 30 boys with instruction in writing and drawing, arithmetic and navigation, Latin and philosophy. The English Deputy-Governor of Fort St. David sent his son to school there ; so did families established at the French islands. Even the Protestant Missionary who visited the place in 1734 could find nothing to criticise. Efforts were also made to establish an Ursuline Convent for the education of girls ; but this plan failed of success, mainly, it seems, through difficulties of ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

The earliest private schools at Madras strangely recall the earliest attorneys of the Mayors' Court. In 1787 there were two—both kept by men who had come out privates in the Company's military service more than 20 years earlier. But even here improvement was at hand. In 1790 a real Master of Arts set up a boarding school,

professing to teach reading and writing, arithmetic and use of the globes, with French, Greek, and Latin ; and next year a lady established a girls' school, which, to judge by her advertisement, must have been modelled upon Miss Pinkerton's famous seminary at Chiswick Mall. Thus in the course of the 18th century Madras ceased to be a place where men thought and talked nothing but commerce and divinity. It became the headquarters of a large army, with officers in the main as competent as any body of officers in the world, with physicians and surgeons many of whom were skilled in their profession, attorneys who had been trained at home instead of picking up a smattering of law as chance served, and school-masters who knew at all events a little more than reading, writing and the manual exercise--a prodigious change in the short space of a generation.

Despite the white ant—a dangerous rival of time as *edax rerum*—many of the houses in which our predecessors revelled long and died quickly have survived to our own day. Many of the buildings in Fort St. George, and some few of those in the outskirts of the city date well back into the 18th century, thus preserving the type of house that European merchants seem commonly to have built for themselves in the East. On the ground-floor was a series of low vaulted rooms, dimly lit and ill-ventilated ; above them, on the first floor, a large central hall, with suites of smaller rooms on two sides and broad verandahs before and behind. The first were storehouses—godowns—the second living rooms. In accordance with their respective purposes, the first were heavily-doored, strongly barred, securely shuttered, as a protection against thieves ; the second were almost all doors and windows, to admit the air whichever way the wind blew. No glass was used in the windows. These were closed either by venetian shutters or by rattan screens. The oyster-shell windows of Bombay were unknown on the Coromandel Coast. Above all was a thick, flat terraced roof which served

admirably to keep out the heat, but taxed (and still taxes) the ingenuity of man to prevent their cracking in the hot weather and admitting deluges of rain in the monsoon. On one occasion the papers relating to an estate were sealed up in an upper-room at Vizagapatam ; the rains descended ; and the papers were ruined before leave could be got from Madras to break the seals and remove them. This was the principal defect of such houses. Otherwise they were excellently adapted to the climate ; and were built not only by the English, French and Dutch from a much earlier period on the Coast, but even by factors in far-away Aleppo and Smyrna.

What was peculiar to the Madras houses was the fine white plaster, with a surface as fine and smooth as marble, used for covering the tall pillars of their verandahs and the surface of their walls. Every visitor noted and admired it ; in a few houses, in some churches, it may still be seen and admired.

Houses in the Black Town, as the native part of the city was called, could be had cheap, for 10 or 15 Pagodas a month—say, £48 to £72 a year. But within the Fort, owing to the scanty space, rents were higher. About 1775 quite a moderate sized house could scarcely be found there for 50 Pagodas a month, and one might have to pay twice as much. Even so, rents were much lower than at Calcutta, where Francis, it may be remembered, paid 1,000 Rupees a month ; but that of course was “the finest house in Bengal,” and less pretentious dwellings could be had for 600 or less.

All through the early part of the century, a house in the Fort was essential to every considerable family ; not only for protection from possible enemies or marauders, but also for business, which centred round the Customs House, the Sea Gate, the Governor's residence. Until almost the very end of the century, these same reasons caused “town-houses,” as they were called, to be regularly

inhabited. In each of the Mysore wars except the last, free-booting horse-men raided the outskirts of the city and sent the inhabitants crowding into the Fort for protection. There were all the large offices, public and private. There were all the shops—such as they were—where you could buy the select (and scanty) imports from Europe. There too or hard-by, were the places of amusement and meeting—the Exchange, the Theatre, and the Admiralty House.

Nevertheless the Fort was stuffy, and high-scented. From the first, men had been glad to escape from its narrow, unpaved and dusty streets into the open country beyond the walls. The Company's Governors set up a country house on the banks of what then was a clear, though sluggish, river, now called the Cooum, much as in England men were building villas at Richmond or Hampton, with garden and bowling-green. Some 7 miles inland lay St. Thomas' Mount, the traditional scene of the martyrdom of the apostle. There too houses began to spring up—small, single-storied places—where you could spend the week-end, or longer on occasion, and amuse yourself with fowling, hawking, or coursing. Though beyond the English limits, the place became popular for the coolness of its air, and by the middle of the century it had become, as it were, a rural suburb, where it was fashionable to have a garden. It was, however, rather far from Madras for comfortable residence. It also suffered severely in the wars. Dupleix caused it twice to be plundered and so did Lally; and our Mysorean enemies never missed a chance of looting it. Consequently, although it became the head-quarters of a battalion of artillery, it was destined to be superseded as a place of residence.

To the west of the Fort, and beyond the river which poured its intricate channel round the walls, stretched a plain, called the Choultry Plain, from a great white customs-post which rose in its centre. This was much more conveniently situated for garden houses than the Mount. Your chaise and pair or even the slow-moving

palankin, could take you into the Fort in the early morning for business, or out of the Fort to a garden-house for supper. Here therefore sprang up the residential suburb of Madras. The movement had already begun before La Bourdonnais captured Madras in 1746 ; but it took on a great extension in the third quarter of the century, and in the last quarter men began to push even farther afield beyond the banks of the Adiyar. The Company at first tried to check this emigration, which they attributed merely to "the folly and vanity of merchants in having the parade of country houses and gardens ; and a few years later the Madras Council resolved that no grants of land should be made for such purposes to those of the Company's servants who held the subordinate degree of writer. But the movement went on none the less ; and their gardens became the joy and pride of Madras residents. Nor were they, for all the Company's rebukes, an extravagant hobby. Even at the beginning of the last century, they could be rented at 20 Pagodas a month.

The lively Hickey (one cannot but regret that his stay in Madras was so brief) relates how on his arrival he was conducted by a friend to his garden-house. He found it a dreary-looking habitation with no furniture but a few clumsy chairs and tables, surrounded by an uncultivated waste which his host was pleased to call a garden. But Hickey saw the place under the worst conditions. He arrived in the hot weather when all was bare and scorched ; the last gardens he had seen were those which gaily slope down to the banks of the Thames ; and the incursions of Hyder's cavalry had compelled the inhabitants the year before to remove everything of value to the Fort. In happier times, garden-houses were better filled than when Hickey spent his restless night upon a bare couch. Had he been a visitor a few years later to Mr. Dawsonne Drake of the Madras Civil Service he would have found a much more luxurious welcome—the verandah sprinkled with rattan chairs and

couches from Canton ; the drawing-room with its Persian carpet, the walls hung with engravings, set out with card-tables and arm-chairs of ebony or rose-wood ; the dining-room with its well polished mahogany ; the bed-rooms with their mirrors, and cots garnished with mosquito-curtains. In the cold weather he would have found the garden covered with grass, and gay with flowers. One writes to a friendly sea captain voyaging down the Straits : "If you can find it convenient to bring me some young plants of curious trees for my garden, and some seeds, it will be the greatest present you can bring me . . ." Another begs a friend going home to send him back from the Cape strawberry-plants, young almond and laburnum shoots, and any flower-seeds that can be got

Furniture offered a more difficult problem to the house-keeper than even house or garden. Mrs. Kindersley complains bitterly of its cost at Calcutta, where people had either to pick up all sorts of oddments that were never meant to appear together, or resort to "the blundering carpenters of the country," or send to Bombay, which involved waiting for three years or so. I think matters were not so bad at Madras, where artisans had long been accustomed to delicate wood-work. In 1731 the Pondichery Council ordered chairs and tables to be made at Madras for the use of the factory at Chandernagore, which suggest that furniture could be provided better at Madras than in Bengal. However, a few years later, suites of furniture were sent out from France specially for their Bengal factories. And though furniture might be made at Madras, it was dear even there. A bill which has been preserved shows "2 dozen Europe chairs, 81 Pagodas," or 27s. each ; a dining table in two parts, 15 Pagodas (or £6) ; a couch, 8 Pagodas (£3 4s.) ; a mahogany bureau, 25 Pagodas (£10).

The walls were doubtless covered for the most part with whitewash or the fine *chunam* ; but sometimes paper hangings procured from China, were used. I find a civilian

writing to a ship's captain to bring him back some to cover the hall of his garden-house. In 1759 it was sold in Madras at half a Pagoda the sheet, but there is nothing to indicate the size except that six sheets went to a roll. It would seem to be the same material as that with which the great Parisian banker, Samuel Bernard, decorated the gallery of the mansion which he built for his mistress.

European servants were of course rare, except with the officers of the Company's European troops and a few favoured others who had soldier servants. An order of 1778 shows that one was employed as a piper, several as grooms, postilions, and coachmen ; others as gardeners ; and one as attender on a lunatic. Clive's chief servant about 1753 was a Portuguese : and the notorious Paul Benfield kept a French cook. But most households did not afford such luxuries, being confined to those servants who, then as now, were sometimes praised and sometimes blamed extravagantly, and whose number made their individual cheapness dear. A European gentleman or considerable merchant had to have 12 or 15, who bitterly resented the least attempt to lessen their master's prestige by diminishing their number. Even the humblest subaltern had to keep 3. As regards pay, there was not much difference between Madras and Calcutta. A butler at Madras got from 1½ Pagodas, while one at Calcutta got from 5 Rupees, upwards, about 1765. But in the course of the next generation wages at Calcutta rose with much greater rapidity than they did at Madras. Sometimes those servants were dressed out with odd names. At a certain Madras tavern, the butler was called "Lord Clive" and the billiard-marker "Red-bonnett." A certain subaltern's servant (commemorated in his master's will) was "The Flamingo"—for short "The Flam."

Besides these hired servants, slaves were not uncommon, especially as attendants on ladies, who seem to have preferred negro to Indian maids. Even in 1761

Mrs. Turing had several Coffree girls in her service. These servants were brought usually from Madagascar, and were owned and employed by all the European nations on the Coast. Their numbers and the proportion which they bore to Indian slaves cannot be determined. Among the French, their masters were bound to have them converted to Christianity within three months. Towards the close of the century the sentiment which brought about the abolition of slavery was already to be found. An executor writes "as to the slaves, I detest selling of men, but see no alternative. I wish H—— would take them, because then they would not be ill-used."

The remarks of travellers in the 17th century concerning Anglo-Indian diet are probably exaggerated so far as Madras is concerned. They say that the Company's servants lived on the fat of the land ; but when the land has little fat—? Moreover their verdicts were passed after a prolonged experience of ship's fare, which may in part account for their enthusiasm. Food was assuredly a point in which Madras ran a poor second to Bengal. The fact is proved by the supplies of sheep, geese and turkeys which were sent down from the more favoured province. Friends in Bengal would send a small token such as a sheep, a couple of geese, or a bag of potatoes. Delicacies which Madras could not produce came from the Northern Circars. Poultry were more abundant there, and the fine wheaten biscuits of Yanam showed the superior skill of French bakers.

Besides these the Company's shipping annually brought out, either on the officers' privilege or as private consignments from friends in England, eatables of various kinds --hams and tongues, casks of butter, cheese in lead, jams and preserves. The Company, frugal soul, once tried the experiment of sending out Cheshire cheeses packed in olive oil, and observed that if the oil were not eatable it could be sold for burning ; but the trial could not have been

satisfactory ; it was never repeated. The inventory of a shop-keeper at Trichinopoly suggests that a good deal of bottled fruit was sent out. He had in stock cranberries and other "bottled fruit for tarts," besides bottles of capers and of fish-sauce. Hams were also brought from China, besides tea, which in 1760 was reckoned "almost the greatest want in life amongst superfluities." With such additional delicacies, with the fruit afforded by the Coast—pine-apples, mangoes, limes and oranges, pimple-noses and the eternal plantain—and the chutneys for which Madras was famous, men made do with the flavourless beef, tough mutton and stringy fowls which the Coast provided. It would seem from the inventories that efforts were often made to soften these into a more palatable consistency by fattening them privately before suffering them to appear on the table.

Plate seems to have become less common as the century progressed. Towards the close I doubt whether it would be met with except at the tables of the Governor and such financial magnates as Paul Benfield. Instead, Chinaware was used even in wealthy households—doubtless such as that which Francisco Manucci (probably a son of the famous Niccolao) sent for sale to the Malabar Coast, sets of 27 pieces costing 5 Pagodas (£3) the set. The use of plate was more convenient on campaign, in spite of the obvious risk of loss and plunder ; more than one officer included in his camp-kit a battered silver tankard and plate, which anyhow would not break.

In the days before filters and aerated waters were invented, and when beer was an expensive luxury, the favourite method of overcoming the poisonous quality and disagreeable flavour of the water was to dilute it with alcohol—wine or spirits. Hence the popularity which strong, high-flavoured wines enjoyed in India at that time. In the 17th century the wine sent out was mostly Canary ; but Shiraz' wine was also largely drunk throughout the

Indies. The English had their own wine-maker in Persia and so could be supplied with the best. The wine is described as "somewhat thick, red in colour and (in my opinion) fiery in taste." In the early part of the 18th century, this was regularly supplied by the Gombroon Factory to Madras; and so popular was it that attempts were made by the English at Cuddalore in 1698, and by the French at Bourbon in 1742, to imitate it.

It was the custom of all the East India Company to make allowances of wine, either free or at special rates, to their servants in the East. The French sent out Bordeaux and Sherry. When difficulties arose about the supply of Shiraz wine, the English Company annually ordered one of its ships to call at Madeira and embark a stock of wine for its servants of the Coast and Bay. In 1757 an Englishman at Tranquebar frightened the Madeira ship off the Coast with a story of French men-of-war to the great indignation of the Madras Council. 150 to 200 pipes were thus sent annually to Madras.

With drinking naturally goes smoking, but social opinion in England was too strong for our predecessors to introduce the *hookah* there as they did the exotic arrack. In England smoking went hopelessly out of fashion, except at the universities, the learned Dr. Parr, on a visit to Lord Granville, was only indulged with a pipe "in a room somewhat apart from the rooms we live in." But in India men smoked gaily throughout the century. There is reason, however, to suppose that at Madras this habit underwent something of a revolution. At first men smoked the church-warden pipe, like Uncle Toby; but later they took to the *hookah*, and by the end of the century that was as universal at Madras as in Bengal. Captain Cope was the latest officer of the Madras Army known to smoke pipes in the 18th century, and the gallant Achilles Preston the only one to smoke cheroots. In all the other inventories, one is almost sure to find *hookahs*, silver-mounted or plain, with odd

accessories—snakes, cases for them, *chillums* and glass-bottoms.

Though they contravened in this the social customs of England, they obeyed them in the vice of the snuff-box. Snuff was manufactured at Masulipatam. Many snuff-boxes are found. Some are simple extravagances—a snuff-box for instance, made out of a calf's-foot with silver hinge and top. The owner of this possessed ten others. Some have a miniature set in the lid, for instance that of Madame de Kerjean, wife of Dupleix's nephew, and one of the several "most beautiful women in India." Native princes even take to the habit. Nawab Muhammad Ali asks for a snuff-box; and the Rājā of Tanjore is presented with one, set with diamonds.

H. DODWELL.

*Record Office, Madras.*

## REVIEWS OF BOOKS.

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### THE PHILOSOPHY OF RABINDRANATH TAGORE.—By S. Radhakrishnan. (Macmillan and Co.)

It would be a matter of common acknowledgment that the reputation of Sir Rabindranath is world-wide and that his work is of a character which meets a very real demand. But it is doubtful whether the time has yet come for a work such as this or whether any true service is done to the poet by so elaborate an exposition of his teaching. At the same time it must be acknowledged that, if the work was to be done at all, it has been exceedingly well done by Mr. Radhakrishnan. His style is vigorous and clear, and he gives a thoroughly consistent presentation of the leading ideas of his master, a presentation which will be useful both for the large number of readers who are familiar with Sir Rabindranath's writings and for those who make their acquaintance with these writings for the first time through the medium of the book before us.

The first two chapters deal with the philosophy of Sir Rabindranath. Mr. Radhakrishnan is at pains to combat the view that much of the philosophy in question is borrowed from the Christian thought of the West. He holds, on the contrary, that it is very explicitly of Indian origin. He admits indeed that it is totally different from the abstract philosophy of Sankara, but he hardly gives to Sankara the place which would be assigned to him by most Indian thinkers as an authoritative interpreter of one at least of the main tendencies of Indian philosophy. Mr. Radhakrishnan ascribes to Indian thought a more distinctly theistic tendency than would generally be approved of. Not of course that he transforms it entirely into theism,—the idea of a personal God is, according to him, not the highest type of religion. The love of the worshipper to the object of devotion is not the ultimate stage. “The distinction of the lover and the loved is kept up till the last point, when in perfect love the two become one. This personal God is then dissolved in the Absolute.” This idea of absolute

merging of personality would hardly be accepted by theism, and it opens the way to the dangers of extreme mysticism. Our writer indeed protests that this merging does not mean annihilation, but merely self-transcendence. He compares it to the extinction of the lamps in the morning light, which does not imply the extinction of the sun. But our point is that such physical analogies are misleading and inapplicable when we have to deal with the relation of personalities to God. We claim that the highest type of religion involves the retention of the fulness of personality and that it is only through such retention that we can find a basis for the practice and energetic aspect of religion which is one of the main characteristics of Sir Rabindranath's teaching. We hold that this basis is not to be discovered with any great explicitness in Indian thought, but is considerably due to external influences. It is curious to notice how very frequently Mr. Radhakrishnan finds himself compelled to use Christian terminology in his description of the more characteristic phases of Sir Rabindranath's thought, and the felt necessity of using such terminology is surely indicative of community of origin. But after all why should this question of origin be raised at all except for merely academic purposes. Truth is one all the world over, and debts should be freely acknowledged, whether of the East to the West or of the West to the East. The chapter on Poetry and Philosophy is a beautiful exposition of some of the finest portions of Sir Rabindranath's work, and the distinction which is drawn between Eastern and Western art is very pertinent. "The Greek framed his images of gods from perfect human models which he looked on as beautiful. But the Hindu does not care for the human models, but simply surrenders himself to the spontaneity of the spiritual vision." This "surrender to the spiritual vision" is the characteristic difference between the poet and the mere intellectualist, and the possession of the power of intuition may make the poet a much better philosopher than the logician.

The two last chapters unfold the practical and social aspects of Sir Rabindranath's philosophy. Incidentally, Mr. Radhakrishnan exhibits a somewhat inadequate appreciation of the fundamental problems of the war. All the nations of the West are almost equally guilty, according to his judgment, of the ambitions which have led to the war. And this idea gives him an opportunity for unfolding Sir Rabindranath's vigorous treatment of the subject of

nationality. "Nationality", especially if it becomes imperialistic, is wholly an evil. It is rapacious and selfish. A quotation is given from a writer in the *Nineteenth Century* which would seem to indicate a wholly selfish imperialism. It is true that Mr. Radhakrishnan adduces some counterbalancing views which would show that Britain is interpreting her duties in a broad and liberal sense. But for some reason or other this defence is consigned to a foot-note, whereas we think that the interests of fair presentation might have demanded that the antidote as well as the exceptional quotation should find a place of honour in the text. And it seems hardly just to hint that the only real motive which has brought the powerful nations of the earth into relations with weaker peoples has been the Germanic desire for world dominion and that all other motives are mere hypocrisy. Such a sentence as "If it is a sword which we see in the one hand to clear the way, the other hand will have the Bible to clear the way", does less than justice to the genuinely religious motive which we think Mr. Radhakrishnan would admit has inspired much missionary effort.

We can all be at one with the author, however, in the stress he lays on the evil of selfish nationalism and in his exposition of Sir Rabindranath's views on the desirability of a democracy of nations into which each nation shall bring its distinctive contribution. For Sir Rabindranath, notwithstanding his bitter opposition to selfish nationality, desires no dead level of homogeneity amongst the peoples. Each people has its own traditional spirit which it must allow to rule its ideals. He is ready to condemn in no uncertain way wholesale borrowing by India from the West. India has so much to give that she does not need to be a mendicant amongst the nations. And Sir Rabindranath acknowledges that the gift she can offer is by no means as yet perfect. In straight and vigorous language his expositor points out the defects which have to be removed. "The clash of castes and creeds, the atmosphere of hate and prejudice, the indifference to the disinherited of the earth, the waste of the spiritual wealth of the country, the waging of war on the ancient dead of India, have all contributed to the fall of India." And Rabindranath himself says equally strongly, "So long as we, out of personal and collective ignorance, cannot treat our countrymen properly like men, so long as our landlords regard their tenants as a mere part of their property, so long as the strong in our country will consider it the eternal law to trample on the weak, the higher castes

despise the lower as worse than beasts, even so long we cannot claim gentlemanly treatment from the English as a matter of right, even so long we shall fail to truly waken the English character, even so long will India continue to be defrauded of her due and humiliated." He claims the right for India to make mistakes, pointing out that education is through experience, and that the British parliamentary system of democratic government took a long time to perfect itself. Still India will in the end make her contribution to the world's welfare, not a contribution exactly like that of the Western nations, but one for which the world is waiting and which will be an essential factor in building up the perfect commonwealth of humanity.

#### NEW EDITION OF TAGORE'S WORKS.

We have received three volumes of this new edition. *Gitanjali*, *The Gardener*, and *Sūdhaṇī*. The books are neatly and tastefully got up and their cheap price (Re. 1) should prove an attraction to those who are unable to buy the more expensive editions.

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#### LECTURES ON POLITICAL SCIENCE.—By Annie Besant. (Society for the Promotion of National Education. Rs. 1-8.)

A considerable amount could be said and written as to the manner in which the study of Political Science should be approached. In so far as it has to deal with the theory of the State and of Government it must involve the investigation of the State in its true nature and essence, and of the government, laws, and constitution of the State. All this, though it does not exhaust the subject of the science, entails the consideration of the phenomenon of organised government wherever it has manifested itself. To this extent it is valuable that attention should be directed to early forms in India and to such institutions as appear in the village communities of India, while those who favour recondite study in our Universities might be pointed to such a book as Kautilya's *Arthashastra*. But to suggest that the neglect of such study has narrowed unwarrantably the basis upon which Political Science is built is the exaggeration of one whose love of India overcomes all her sense of proportion. And it is absurd to

think that Political Science can be built up anew upon an Indian basis. If it can, then the Montagu-Chelmsford combination has been even more premature than many already think it to have been in its proposals—for responsible government is the crown of political development in the West.

While Mrs. Besant's series of Lectures on Political Science, delivered at the National College of Commerce, Madras, suggest the criticism of bias indicated above, they form, on the whole, an interesting book. The author has, naturally, drawn much of her material from the work of Western scholars, though she directs attention to many Indian instances and suggests rather than develops the idea, of the West as rediscovering what India had of old. "Europe is returning on Modern Socialism to the old Indian ideal of the State" (p. 147). One is tempted to refer to the rediscovery of the art of aeronautics.

But Mrs. Besant's book is the work of a student, and, if the propagandist occasionally peeps through, it but serves to remind us of the virile personality of the writer.

#### THE SECRET CITY.—By Hugh Walpole. (Macmillan's Empire Library.)

This is not so much a novel as a series of psychological sketches. The plot is of the slightest, but the knowledge is of the deepest, and it is a knowledge both of human nature and of society which will evoke special interest at the present time. The scene is laid in Russia, in Petrograd, during the year preceding the Revolution and the early months of the new régime. Two or three Englishmen are brought into more or less close contact with a Russian middle-class family, and the book is an acute and subtle analysis of the resulting interaction. The contrast between the practical Englishman and the idealistic Russian is well brought out. The Russian lives in a world of ideas, with strange relapses into utter materialism. When the idealistic fit seizes him, patriotism is a word full of sound and fury. Nothing less than the union of all humanity will suit him, and so the Russian army goes to pieces, and the rival parties turn machine guns on one another in the streets of Petrograd. But the Englishman is not wholly practical, for in this book he is interpreted by a writer who has in him more than a mere touch of the mystic, who can enter into

the mind, individual and collective, of another civilisation, who has power to sense the meaning of seemingly inanimate things, who can feel the forebodings of coming trouble, and convey to his readers the instability of all things earthly. This latter impression of sudden upheaval and disturbance of all established custom is admirably conveyed. For the writer the change has, on the whole, a forbidding and sinister aspect, like the monster, scaly and forbidding, which in vision he saw arising from the waters of the Neva. It has also an element of unreality and hollowness, the typical demagogue being the man with open mouth and waving arms, and no other qualifications for the leadership of men. Yet even in things apparently evil there is a soul of good. The Russians described—and analysed—are not all unhealthy. Vera, who comes nearest to being the heroine of the book, maintains to the end an open-air nobility of character. We cannot quite understand her, but, then we are not meant to, for after all, she is Russian, and Mr. Walpole's main thesis is that we cannot understand Russia, and in most things are about as wrong regarding her, as we were in our picture of her army steam-rolling over the country to Berlin. One of the most interesting characters in the book is Markovitch, a seemingly insignificant rat of a man, on the verge of madness, busying himself with crazy inventions and still crazier ideas. And yet he can think deeply and die nobly, and into his mouth the writer can put, not incongruously, one of the central thoughts of the book. "Do you not think, Ivan Andreievitch, that if you go deep enough in every human heart, there is this kernel of goodness, this fidelity to some ideal? Do you know that we have a proverb: 'In each man's heart there is a secret town at whose altars the true prayers are offered.'"

#### THE THEOSOPHICAL OUTLOOK.—(Theosophical Publishing House.)

These four addresses were delivered at the Theosophical Convention held in Calcutta in 1917. It may be said that here we see Theosophy at its best. Many beautiful theories are propounded, which, if only they could be applied to practice, would do much to reform the world. By far the best of the lectures is that by the Hon. Dewan Bahadur Justice T. Sadasivier, on "Problems of Social Reform."

He shows, indeed, that composite attitude of criticism of the past and reliance upon the authority of the present day members of the Great White Brotherhood, living mysteriously in Tibet, which is characteristic of much theosophical writing. But we need not trouble so much about the derivation of his ideas. It is enough that many of them are exceedingly healthy and worthy of most serious consideration by his countrymen as well as by those who have inherited a western tradition and are not always sufficiently careful about the relation of this tradition to the customs of the land in which they have for the time being taken up their abode.

## PERIODICALS.

### THE QUARTERLY REVIEW.—January 1919.

The place of honour in this number is given to an interesting biographical article on "John Murray III." It is written by John Murray IV who carries on at the present time the traditions of the great publishing house founded in 1768. To have a place in so unbroken a succession is a unique distinction and all readers of the *Quarterly* will echo the hope that the fifth of the name "commanding a battalion in Flanders" may be spared to carry on the history of the firm. Mr. Strachan Morgan writes upon the great possibilities of Anglo-Italian trade, especially as regards fruit and vegetables. The Dean of Canterbury's article on "A Scientific Decision on Alcohol" will be a disappointment to out-and-out temperance reformers. The Dean supports the conclusion that alcohol is bad to work upon, but good to rest upon, and that, therefore, it should not be taken till near the end of the day. Professor Headlam pleads for a reunion of the various branches of the Eastern Church and for intercommunion between that Church and the Church of England. "If there is to be a commercial, economic and political union," he says, "between the peoples of the world, there must also be a religious union." It is cheering to notice that Professor Headlam believes that reunion, like charity, begins at home and welcomes the idea of closer relations between the Church of England and other Churches of the West as well as of the East. Mr. Lindsay Rogers throws a curious light upon the vast dictatorial powers possessed by the President of the United States, and shows how the extremes of

democracy and autocratic power may very well meet. The article on Alsace-Lorraine is of special interest at the present time. The writer points out that a plebiscite would be no adequate indication of the proper destiny of these provinces. Twenty per cent. of the population have emigrated since 1871. These would all be favourable to France, and yet would be excluded from a share in the plebiscite, whereas the 300,000 Germans who have replaced them would be eligible for the vote. The better method of discovering the right course would be to search for evidence of national feeling in the past and for expressions of popular feeling in the present. If this method is taken overwhelming arguments will be forthcoming for the restoration of these provinces to France. The articles on the League of Nations by Lord Phillimore and the Editor of the *Journal des Débats* are not particularly enlightening, but the latter is interesting as showing the trend of French opinion.

#### THE LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW.—January 1919.

The article of most general interest in this number is that on "The World, The War, and Woman—A Study in the Philosophy of Benjamin Kidd" by E. S. Waterhouse. It discusses whether the hope is justified that the entry of women into public affairs will bring to an end the age of combativeness and introduce a new era in which a collective ideal will be dominant. The writer, while agreeing with Benjamin Kidd that the effect of woman's service will be very great, argues that it will not of itself be sufficient any more than man's has been. Only the dynamic of a living religious faith will supply the needed power. W. W. Shilling writes a short but well-informed article on "South African Troubles." He brings out the political and social difficulties which exist owing to Republican sentiment amongst the Boers, to European Labour unrest on the Rand, and to native resentment against various wrongs which they think to have been done to them. Principal Forsyth in an article entitled "Religion Private and Public" makes an eloquent plea for the recognition by Christians of all the moral significance of the faith. Christianity means properly "regeneration not into safety but into the Kingdom of God." Christians

individually and the Church as an organised body must more definitely aim at bringing the "spirit of holiness" to the solution of public questions as well as of those merely of personal conduct. Only along that line does he believe that there is real hope for a better civilisation than has been. In "A Submerged Profession" T. H. S. Escott shows that it is not to-day for the first time that the journalist is being compelled to subordinate his own conscience to the demands of his employer or the public. Defoe and Swift felt the like compulsion, and Mr. Escott seems to think that no other kind of journalism is possible in the present age.

The number contains also other articles and numerous reviews.

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**INDIAN NATIONALITY.**

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III.

COUNTLESS writers on India have described caste in more or less detail, but few have departed from the normal course of description to try to fathom the question of caste and nationality. Of the few whose views of caste go beyond the mere social stratification of Hindu society only one has made a real attempt with any constructive result to show the relations of caste and nationality. That one is the late Sir Herbert Risley, who, as Census Commissioner for all-India in 1901, received ample opportunity to view the Indian kaleidoscope from a favourable point of view. Admirably equipped with an excellent classical, historical and anthropological education, a balanced judgment and a facile pen, Risley is second to none in his description of facts and his arrangement of premisses and conclusions. His reflexions on Nationality and Caste, published in his "People of India" are given after the most complete survey of racial, linguistic, religious, social and educational facts and tendencies yet produced in, or for, India.

As I have already pointed out earlier in these studies, Hinduism is a socio-religious system, two distinguishing

features of which are the caste system and the supremacy of the Brahmins. The supremacy of the Brahmins is really an element in the caste system. The Brahmins are spiritual teachers and expounders of the law. They are also the apex caste of the social system.

Caste, in the words of Sir Herbert Risley, may be defined as a "collection of families bearing a common name, claiming a common descent from a mythical ancestor, human or divine; professing to follow the same hereditary calling, and regarded by those who are competent to give an opinion as forming a single homogeneous community." A caste is an endogamous group. The member of a particular caste must marry a member of the same group. Hypergamy, whereby the woman of one caste may marry a member from the next higher group, but may not "marry down," is allowable to a certain extent, but on the whole it is true to say that caste is an exclusive marriage group. Intermarriage between castes is forbidden.

I mention the fact of endogamy because it has a very direct bearing on our central subject. Many observers of Hindu society have found it well nigh impossible to picture a unified Hindu people, far less a unified India, where the Hindus are so hermetically sealed off from each other. The exclusive groups and sub-groups of Hindu society by their very nature breed an almost fanatical loyalty to the group. The group is a small world or miniature nation in itself. It has its own blood, its own rules and observances, its own government. The caste group produces a caste loyalty. From the nature of the case citizenship in Hindu society is primarily citizenship of a caste or family. The sentiment of unity or solidarity is a matter not of a province or nation, but of a caste. To the Hindu the influx of aliens or the danger of invasion is of small importance provided it does not endanger his caste. He is governed morning and night, sleeping and waking, by rules of caste. Rigidly caged within its walls, he must guard his

cage from encroachment, for what affects his caste affects him. Other caste-members share the same sentiments. They may work together and speak together if caste rules permit, but above all they must preserve their ceremonial mutual exclusiveness. They must eat only with those whom caste rules permit ; they may take water only from those\* who do not defile ; they must marry and give in marriage those whom the rigid rules of caste allow.

Sir Herbert Risley drew particular attention to the barrier of endogamy in the development of Indian nationality. "No one writing in Europe," he says, "would imagine that people who were capable of conceiving the idea of national unity had not long ago passed the stage at which restrictions on intermarriage could form part of their code of social customs." This, the "physiological aspect of the question" has been noted by more than one observer. In the growth and progress of the Roman Empire the feeling of solidarity, though not owing its chief influence to the mixture of blood by intermarriage, was doubtless helped by the *ius conubii*. The world socio-imperialism for which Sir Rabindranath Tagore pleads is in some important respects comparable to Roman political-imperialism. Whereas the Romans allowed the right of intermarriage not only among the Roman classes themselves but also between Romans and conquered peoples, the Hindu admits such a right only to very rigidly circumscribed castes or caste groups. Not only is the right of intermarriage forbidden by Hindu custom but the groups cherish that which is the very negation of communal feeling, namely, an actual physical repulsion to each other. Denied the rights of marriage and commensality and regarded as actually polluting to the touch of higher castes, the lowest castes might scarcely be expected to find a blood basis of unity or a basis of common sentiment with the higher castes. Even the natural love of home and country might scarcely be expected to be a bond of unity where

those in authority are able to carry class distinctions so far that the lowest classes dare not walk on the same road as the highest, nor dare touch their fellow-countrymen more highly favoured by birth without incurring for them the risk of eternal damnation. A society where the inter-mixture of blood between citizens leads to outer darkness in both this world and the next cannot normally be expected to unite in the common bonds of mutual love and respect necessary for common national feeling.

Sir Comer Petheram, when Vice-Chancellor of Calcutta University, brought this to the notice of the students of his time. "It should be borne in mind," he said, "by those who aspire to lead the people of this country into the untried regions of political life, that all the recognised nations of the world have been produced by the freest possible intermingling and fusing of the different race stocks inhabiting a common territory. The horde, the tribe, the caste, the clan, all the separate and often warring groups characteristic of the earlier stages of civilisation, must, it would seem, be welded together by a process of unrestricted crossing before a nation can be produced. Can we suppose that Germany would ever have arrived at her present greatness, or would indeed have come to be a nation at all if the numerous tribes mentioned by Tacitus or the three hundred petty princedoms of last century, had been stereotyped and their social fusion rendered impossible by a system forbidding intermarriage between the members of different tribes or the inhabitants of different jurisdictions? If the tribe in Germany had, as in India, developed into the caste, would German unity ever have been heard of? Everywhere in history we see the same contest going forward between the earlier, the more barbarous instinct of separation, and the modern civilising tendency towards unity, but we can point to no instance where the former principle, the principle of disunion and isolation, has succeeded in producing anything resembling a nation. History,

it may be said, abounds in surprises, but I do not believe that what has happened nowhere else is likely to happen in India in the present generation."

Sir Rabindranath Tagore, a member of the society of which he speaks, says practically the same thing (in his *Nationalism*). Speaking of Indian nationalists he says: "Nationalists say, look at Switzerland, where in spite of race differences the people have solidified into a nation. Yet, remember that in Switzerland the races can mingle, they can intermarry, because they are of the same blood. In India there is no common birthright. And when we talk of Western Nationality we forget that the nations there do not have the physical repulsion, one for the other, that we have between different castes. Have we an instance in the whole world where a people who are not allowed to mingle their blood shed their blood for one another except by coercion or for mercenary purposes? And can we ever hope that these moral barriers against our race amalgamation will not stand in the way of our political unity?"

Intermarriage may be called one of the natural or physical bases of nationality, but with the growth of enlightenment the physical elements tend to be replaced by the spiritual or intellectual. Endogamy in Hindu society is a bar to national unity not in itself but because it is emblematic of the lack of a spiritual basis, and how far the counteracting influence of other national unities may overcome this natural barrier is another question. But the rigid caste marriage-system itself shows signs of breaking down. The recent attempts by both Mr. Bhupendranath Bose and Mr. Patel to legalise inter-caste marriage, though they evoked many protests from the orthodox Hindus, at the same time found much sympathy in Hindu society. The recent Bill of Mr. Patel in particular has shown the war between conservatism and liberalism in Hinduism.

It is beyond the purpose of this paper to analyse the various theories of the origin of caste, but I must make

some reference to them for purposes which will be apparent later. Briefly stated, the theories of the origin of caste are five,—the Indian theory, Sir Denzil Ibbetson's theory, Nesfield's theory, Senart's theory and Risley's theory. The Indian theory is contained in the Institutes of Manu, and, therefore, is the orthodox Hindu view. Brahma, the progenitor of the whole world, caused the Brahmans, Kshatriyas, the Vaisyas and the Sudras to issue from his mouth, arms, thighs and feet. To each of these four original castes were assigned its particular duties. The Brahmans were to teach, study, perform sacrifices and receive alms ; the Kshatriyas were to be soldiers, to protect the people ; the Vaisyas were to trade, cultivate and lend money ; the Sudras were to serve the three higher castes. From these four castes grew the other castes by a series of crossings, first between members of the original groups, and afterwards among their descendants.

The Indian theory proves to us that about the second century of the Christian era there existed in India a highly developed social organisation, with groups of various kinds, tribal, national, and occupational. The idea of the four castes, moreover, is not original to Manu. It exists in earlier law books, and it is not improbable, as Risley suggests, that the Brahmanical theory of castes is only a modified version of the division of society into four classes —priests, warriors, cultivators and artisans—which appears in the religious literature of ancient Iran. The old Iranian tradition, coming to India in some way, fascinated the law-writers by the assertion of the supremacy of the priests, who found in it a theory adaptable to Indian social conditions. Risley gives evidence of similarity between the Iranian classes and the Manu theory which is so striking that it is impossible to believe that the two were unconnected in origin, even although the Aryans may not have been the channel which brought the idea to India.

Sir Denzil Ibbetson's theory, contained in the 1881 Census Report for the Punjab, is summed up in these words :—

“ We have the following steps in the process by which caste has been evolved in the Punjab :—(1) the tribal divisions common to all primitive societies ; (2) the guilds based upon hereditary occupation common to the middle life of all communities ; (3) the exaltation of the priestly office to a degree unexampled in other countries ; (4) the exaltation of the levitical blood by a special insistence on the necessarily hereditary nature of occupation ; (5) the preservation and support of this principle by the elaboration from the theories of the Hindu creed or cosmogony of a purely artificial set of rules, regulating marriage and intermarriage, declaring certain occupations and foods to be impure and polluting, and prescribing the conditions and degree of social intercourse permitted between the several castes. Add to these the pride of social rank, and the pride of blood which are natural to man, and which alone could reconcile a nation to restrictions at once irksome from a domestic and burdensome from a material point of view ; and it is hardly to be wondered at that caste should have assumed the rigidity which distinguishes it in India.

Sir Denzil Ibbetson's theory contains most of the possible elements in the origin of caste. His theory is more a suggestion of causes than a cut-and-dried theory, and, as will presently be seen, other writers who have given definite theories have merely segregated one of the elements from Ibbetson's list and regarded it as the main or determining cause. This theory is an excellent recognition of the universal nature of the general idea of caste. In India the general idea has undergone several adaptations owing to the peculiar circumstances of the country, and its rigidity is explained largely by the intervention of the clever priests who drew up the caste rules. Like the other theories which I mention, Sir Denzil's theory to my mind fails to

*trace the real cause of the ceremonial rules made by the priestly caste.*

Nesfield's theory, contained in his *Brief View of the Caste System in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh*, is that caste is based solely on occupation. The order of social precedence in the castes is determined by the relative stages of culture to which a particular occupation belongs. Endogamy and other rigid caste customs he ascribes to the Brahmans, who, to safeguard their own position, found it advantageous to start them. Recent anthropological work in the direction of showing the power of priests in earlier social organisation tends to confirm Nesfield's remarks about the Brahmans, but to base caste on occupation alone is justified neither by the caste system nor by the comparative study of similar institutions. Were caste merely occupational, the almost illimitable subdivision of castes could not be explained. Occupation might explain general caste divisions but not the particular caste divisions. Nor again does the mediæval trade guild or the modern trade union parallel explain caste. Trade guilds were neither endogamous nor exclusive. They took in the particular craftsmen qualified for the guild membership. But that occupation is an element in caste formation is clear from the fact that new castes are formed continually on an occupational basis. Occupation, however, is only one element among many and it was not the original cause of caste.

Senart's theory, contained in his *Castes in India*, is interesting not only in itself but for the careful parallels he draws with the social customs of Greece and Rome. He argues that caste is a result of the struggle for existence of Aryan institutions in India. Aryan peoples had all some sort of caste system. In Greece, Rome and India there are parallel institutions, the family,  $\phi\rho\alpha\tau\rho\iota\alpha$  and  $\phi\mu\lambda\eta$  in Greece; the gens, curia and tribe in Rome; the family, gotra and caste in India. The similarities in Greece, Rome and India extend even to detail. In marriage the  $\gamma\epsilon\nu\sigma$ ,

gens and gotra were similar, endogamy prevailing to a certain extent in each. In Rome plebeians had to fight a long battle before they were granted the *ius conubii* with patricians ; in Athens the members of a  $\phi\mu\tau\rho\iota\omega$  had all to be of the same blood-group. In Rome hypergamy existed just as it does in India. The Roman *confarreatio* was the equivalent of the Punjab *got kanala*, the marriage meal by partaking of which a wife is transferred from an exogamous group to that of her husband. The caste restrictions regarding food, Senart points out, were also common, as were funeral ceremonies and exclusion from caste or temples.

Senart does not give any one theory of the origin of caste. The late Sir Denzil Ibbetson believes that many factors operated. In Risley's summary, " Distribution over a wide area, tending to multiply groups, contact with the aborigines, encouraging pride of blood, the idea of ceremonial purity, leading to the employment of the indigenous races in occupations involving manual labour, while the higher pursuits were reserved for the Aryans, the influence of the doctrine of metempsychosis, the absence of any political power to draw the scattered groups together, and the authority which the Brahmanical system gradually acquired "—these are the elements in Senart's theory.

Risley's own theory, for which, like the other theorists, he finds parallels in many other communities, is based on the fact that conquering races coming into India in various waves, found wives among the local races, but, to preserve their pride of blood, kept the inferior races at arm's length in other matters. A similar development is seen in South America, where negroes intermarry with negroes, and the various half or quarter races with themselves, but are forbidden by law to marry with the white races. The Burghers of Ceylon are another example. In the early days of the Dutch occupation of Ceylon the Dutch colonists married Singhalese wives, but in time this half-breed community came to look on themselves as superior to the

indigenous Singhalese ; and they now form practically an endogamous caste by themselves. Similar instances exist in India at the present time. Working on these premisses, Risley gives the outlines of the process in the formation of the Hindu caste system. Then the second wave of Indo-Aryans, homogeneous in stock, first poured into India they did not bring their women but found wives among the indigenous peoples of India. Subduing the Dravidians by force of arms they captured women according to their needs. After they settled in India—being cut off from their homes by distance and the conditions they had made for themselves,—they gradually bred enough women to make further intermarriage with the conquered peoples unnecessary. Their pride of blood remained with them and once they had females enough they formed a superior community with a rigid marriage bar. As their numbers grew the younger men again set out on the war path, and, in imitation of their ancestors, repeated the process. Viewed thus, at the root of the whole system is the pride of race based on colour or warlike ability, ultimately crystallising into endogamous caste.

The caste system once started was strengthened by the fiction that people “who speak a different language dwell in a different district, worship different gods, eat different food, observe different social customs, follow a different profession, or practise the same profession in a slightly different way, must be so unmistakably aliens by blood that intermarriage with them is a thing not to be thought of”. The growth of the caste instinct was also stimulated by certain peculiarities of the Indian intellect, in Risley's words—“its lax hold of facts, its indifference to action, its absorption in dreams, its exaggerated reverence for tradition, its passion for endless division and subdivision, its acute sense of minute technical distinctions, its pedantic tendency to press a principle to its furthest logical conclusion, and its remarkable capacity for imitating and

adapting social ideas and usages of whatever origin". The myth of the four castes was first evolved by some speculative Brahmins and, aided by the natural imitativeness of Hindus, it soon spread through Hindu society and, in the working out of the many other gradations, was helped by the philosophic doctrine of metempsychosis and *karma*.

Among the various theories of the origin of caste one peculiar fact is to be noted. Each writer is able to support his case by copious historical parallels in other countries and among other peoples. All this points to the universality of certain aspects of castes, a universality which, as the Roman jurists might have argued, marks caste as an inherent element in nature. In India caste has taken a distinctive form, a form which has prevented the development of a Hindu nationality or nation. While in Persia, Greece and Rome national unity evolved and evolved in more than one way and at more than one period in history, India has continued nationless. The unity of India has not gone beyond the caste. This Senart ascribes to the fact the Indian never rose to the idea of *patrie*. Just as among the Greeks the idea of the city-state was the highest development—the nation-state was not dreamt of, so in India the notion of citizenship stopped at the caste.

My purpose in bringing forward these theories is to bring out the universality of many of the leading features of caste. The caste system as it is to-day is characteristic of India, and of India only. Arising in the pre-historic days before the arrival of the Aryans in India, it is merely a particular application of a general theory. The animistic aborigines, worshipping the elemental forces of nature, transmitted to the higher civilisation of the Aryans living examples of what in earlier days was characteristic of Aryan civilisation, but of which at the time of contact only certain survivals existed in the Aryan culture itself. The Aryans, with pride of both culture and race, and possessing among themselves the class distinctions

common to all mankind, gladly accepted the animistic ideas of the aborigines and applied them to human institutions. The most educated class took to itself the pride of place, and gave to that place the sanction of both civil and religious law. In the course of time other things entered as creative agencies in the caste system—such as occupation and race-purity, with endogamy.

For the establishment of a caste system what is primarily necessary is the *idea* of caste. The idea of caste, originating in the way suggested, under the extremely favourable medium offered by the peculiar conditions of India, provided in the course of time the iron frame into which the modern plan of caste was fitted. As applied by the thinking Aryans, the idea found favour among the aboriginal animists who, seeing spirits in stones, trees and rivers were only too ready to apply the same idea of spirit-emanation to the human body or to objects touched by the human body. Conversely, the incoming peoples were only too ready to adopt a ready-made instrument found *in situ* for the preservation of race superiority and the dominance of the enlightened classes.

The existing theories of caste seem to me to fail by laying too much emphasis on the mechanical aspect of caste. The mechanical explanations of either race or occupation or a mixture of the two do not explain many of the existing elements in caste. They do, it is true, explain certain facts of caste formation, but they do not get behind caste. The idea of caste in some form is universal. Class distinctions are the form it has taken most usually, distinctions based on birth, social position, religion or the possession of wealth. In Hindu society it is based on birth and birth alone. The wealthiest Sudra is only a Sudra as compared with the penniless Brahman. But why is the wealthy Sudra *untouchable*? Why is water taken from the wrong hands poison to the Brahman? Why dare not the *untouchables* of Madras come within a certain distance of the

Brahman? Why will not higher castes even touch what has been touched by the lowest castes without ceremonial pollution? Why does the high caste doctor place tissue paper on the arm of low caste patient when he is feeling his pulse? And why in every action of his waking and sleeping life is the Brahman so circumscribed by scriptural ceremonial? Why is bathing or the "washing away of sin" so important in these ceremonies?

To me the answer seems to lie in the idea of spirit emanation, so common in all early societies. Before the Aryan advent in India the idea of spirit emanation was universal and in one form it survives in the various totemistic groups of modern India. The very survival of totemism in India for so many centuries shows the strength of the powers on which it is built. Totemism, as Sir J. G. Frazer points out, is a semi-social, semi-religious system by which the individual considers himself as having some integral relation with his totem, or group symbol, a connexion so intimate that he will not kill, eat or even injure the totem. The notion at the back of it all seems to be the idea of spirit community. Risley, though he does not apply his idea to caste formation, suggests this solution when he calls Hinduism "Magic tempered by metaphysics."

The idea of spirit emanation or magic, therefore, seems the fundamental idea of caste. It was supplemented in course of its development by other influences such as occupation and race. Clever law-givers like the clever priest-kings of other early communities, clothed the original idea with a vast amount of historical, semi-historical, or purely fictitious material, gradually building up a pseudo-legal system which in time became so ingrained among the people that it worked mechanically by itself.

The arguments from the comparative study of social development I must leave with a reference to that vast mine of information, Sir J. G. Frazer's *Golden Bough* or the smaller volume *Lectures on the Early History of the*

*Kingship.* In these volumes much light is thrown on early society, particularly on the part played in the development of early political society by magicians. I commend especially to those interested those parts of the *Golden Bough* which deal with homœopathic and contagious magic, and leave the readers to compare in their own minds the facts of magic with the ceremonialism of Hinduism. Space forbids me following this fascinating subject further in this place.

The caste system, therefore, is simply an application of animism or spiritism to society. In totemistic tribes the totem is the centre of good and evil, the consequent object worship and the home of spirits. The spirit idea, translated into society, gives social strata each of which contains its particular spirit. The spirit of the highest class is the all-powerful and all-beneficent spirit. It resides in the Brahmans, for whom the reverence and help of the others are therefore necessary. This spirit must not be defiled either by direct corporeal touch or by the intermediate method of objects touched by, and therefore containing the lowest spirits nor must it come into contact of any kind with the emanations from these lower spirits.

It seems reasonable to conclude that what has been a stage of development in all communities and has subsequently disappeared before other ideas and institutions, may follow a similar course in India. The Indian caste system it may be pointed out has lasted so long that it has become ingrained not only in the characters of the people but in their laws and institutions. That is undoubtedly true. The basis of Hindu law is laid in codes (chiefly the code of Manu) which recognise and legislate for caste; but law is only a reflexion of the mental attitude of a people. Class legislation has disappeared in other countries. It has, however, left survivals in many forms, just as has the earlier culture of which the laws are emblems. Customs die slowly and even in unfavourable media survivals tend to linger on.

It cannot, of course, be argued that because customs in origin were the same in all communities that in the same way they will all disappear. It is almost impossible to think of a casteless India. Caste is a primal fact of life and it is inconceivable that any sudden social movement could sweep it away. But in caste there may be those adaptations possible which will allow that solidarity to develop which is necessary for national union.

So much for the origin of caste. It is far beyond my present purpose to give a detailed account of how modern castes are formed. I must, however, bring to notice those features of caste formation which have a bearing on Indian nationality.

Castes are formed, usually exclusive; but that caste is capable of extension is seen in a variety of ways. Generally speaking there are six types of caste: tribal, functional or occupational, sectarian, cross, national, migratory and castes formed by changing occupation. Tribal castes arise when a tribe gradually adopts the usual caste rules and accepts some of the most salient points of Hinduism. This usually happens with the indigenous animistic tribes. Such castes naturally come at the tail end in caste precedence. Large numbers of castes have been formed in this way, such as the Dosa's of Behar, the Ahirs of the United Provinces, the Baudi, Koibarta, Pod and Rajbansi-Kochh of Bengal, and the Nayar, Vellala and Pariah of Madras.

The functional type of caste is so common that it is popularly regarded as the chief type. Each caste has its particular traditional type of work, the caste always prescribing the limits, and often the methods, of the work. As members of a caste leave for new types of work, they leave the old caste and form a new caste. The caste is the Indian trade union and a most rigorous union it is, though its main object is not to raise wages. It does not allow caste "black-legs." If the members break caste they

must expiate their sins by fines or expulsion ; if the work is different from the caste-work they must form a new caste. Such, at least, is the theory.

In this connexion it is very important to note the connexion between the actual and nominal caste functions of some of the castes, particularly the Brahmins. Nothing illustrates more clearly the adaptability of Hinduism to new conditions than the way in which the Brahmins, the purest in blood, the proudest, the most privileged of the castes, have given up their traditional callings. The Brahman by caste-rights is a priest, a teacher, and a receiver of alms. The Bengal Census Report of 1901 shows that only 17 per cent. of the Bengal Brahmins and a mere 8 per cent. of Behar Brahmins were priests. In 1911 over all India less than one-fifth of the total number of Brahmins followed any sort of religious calling at all. In the Bengal report for 1911 Mr. O'Malley points out that the Brahmins live mainly by agriculture. In West and Central Bengal the number of agricultural Brahmins, whether landlords or tenants, is double that supported by priesthood ; in North and East Bengal a quarter, in Behar one-seventh, and in Orissa and Chota Nagpur only one-tenth support themselves by religious callings. The rapidity of the change may be judged from the fact that a Sub-Judge near Burdwan recently said to a friend of mine that his village supported thirty Brahmins when he was a boy, whereas it now supports only two.

What is true of the Brahmins is equally true of other castes. In 1901 the Chamars, whose traditional occupation is leather-working, all, save 8 per cent., had left their caste calling to act as cultivators or labourers. The same Census shows that two-thirds of the Kayasthas, by tradition writers, were farmers, and that 65 per cent. of the Telis (oil pressers) had gone over to other employments. In 1911 a similar tale is told, showing that as time goes on the tendency to leave the traditional caste occupation is

intensified. The only castes who "stick to their lasts" are those engaged in agriculture. Even the weavers show a tendency to leave their hereditary occupations. The 1911 Census, in spite of the intervening period of active *swadeshi-ism*, showed a smaller number of weavers among the Jolahas and Tantis than in 1901.

From the figures two conclusions may be drawn, first, that with the changing conditions of India, caste has proved flexible and adaptable; and, second, that castes with a low status leave their traditional callings for other work considered less menial. In Krishnagar, for example, the sweepers have gone almost *en masse* to work as railway coolies or surfacemen.

Sectarian castes originate in sects founded by religious leaders very much in the same way as Christian sects arise. The sect once founded organises itself on a caste basis. In his Census Report for 1901 Risley quotes as an instance of this the Lingayat sect of Bombay and South India which then had over two and a half million members. The Lingayats were founded in the twelfth century by a religious reformer who proclaimed the equality of all who received the eight-fold sacrament ordained by him. By the seventeenth century this sect had begun to organise itself on caste lines, making endogamous groups with caste gradation exactly opposite to the teaching of the founder. The Lingayat actually presented a petition to the Government of India protesting against the "offensive and mischievous" order to include them all in one caste. It would be difficult, says Risley, to find a better example of the "essentially particularist instinct of the Indian people, of the aversion with which they regard the doctrine that all men are equal, and of the growing attraction exercised by the aristocratic schemes of society which their ancient traditions enshrine".

The same tendency is observed to-day in both Brahmoism and Christianity. Both these creeds theoretically renounce caste, but even in these the innate particularist

tendency of the Hindus comes out. In Christianity there may be found in places a caste division based on the clean and unclean castes of Hinduism. The early Portuguese missionaries in the west of India recognised, and provided for this. "Caste" churches have been known, and many caste observances introduced into Indian Christian ceremonies. Generally speaking the Christian Churches strongly oppose the introduction of the caste flavour into Christianity, but often the instinct has proved too strong. In India, as Risley says "race dominates religion ; sect is weaker than caste". No matter what the religious profession of the Hindu or the ex-Hindu, his social system always veers round to division and subdivision, to endogamy and exclusiveness.

The effect of caste on Moslemism is very marked, particularly in Bengal. A large proportion of the Bengali Mussulmans were originally converts from Hinduism and many of the caste prejudices of their earlier religion have remained with them. Theoretically all Moslems are equal. There should be no caste at all and in certain respects, such as the acts of worship where the Moulvis and Mullahs give their ministrations to all there are no distinctions. In social matters, nevertheless, the Hindu caste restrictions are very noticeable. The main basis of distinction is occupational. Thus there are the Jolahas, weavers ; the Nikaris, fishermen ; the Kulus, oil-pressers ; the Naluas, bamboo-mat makers ; the Dhobas, washermen ; and the Hajjams, barbers. These Moslem caste groups have practically the same rules governing marriage and commensality as Hindus have.

Cross castes are exemplified by the Shagirdpeshas of Bengal, who are the offspring of Kayasth immigrants and women taken by them from lower castes as concubines. The offspring have formed new castes, according to the castes of the father, with the usual caste rules of endogamy, etc. The Khas of Nepal are another example. They

are the descendants of mixed marriages between Rajput or Brahman immigrants and Nepalese women. The Khas are classed as Kshatriyas, having received their high status from their high-caste fathers. The Sudras of Eastern Bengal and the Rajbansi Brahmans of Chittagong, who are supposed to be crosses between Burmese fathers and Bengali mothers, the Vidurs of the Central Provinces and the Borias of Assam are examples of cross castes.

Particular note must be made of the so-called national castes, of which the Newars and Marathas are examples. To the Marathas reference has already been made in connexion with the general subject of religion. The Marathas are divided in Bombay into the Marathas and Maratha Kunbis, the former being hypergamous to the latter. The highest class of Marathas is supposed to consist of only 96 families and claim to be Kshatriyas. Their claim to be higher than the Kunbis seems due to their having won high positions and wealthy estates at the break up of the Mogul Empire. The Newars are a mixed Mongoloid people comprising both Hindus and Buddhists, each divided into castes. The Newar Hindu higher castes are divided on governmental lines, with the priests first, members of the royal family next, ministers and officials following.

Migratory castes are formed by castes leaving their original homes and settling in other parts of India. Such castes are regarded by their own people as having been polluted by contact with foreigners, and when they want to take wives from their own people they find that they have to go a step down on the social ladder, or pay very highly for marriage in their own group. In time these castes develop a fellow-feeling and marry only among themselves, taking a new caste name which usually indicates their territorial origin (such as Barendra or Tirhuti). Thus Behar castes settling in Bengal are forbidden the rights of intermarriage with Bengal castes of an equivalent status. In time the traces of the original caste-cause

disappear and the caste takes its place in the recognised local social strata.

Castes formed by a change of custom arise from neglect on the part of the original members to observe the ordinary rules of their original caste. Thus the Babbhans or Bhuinhar or Bhumihar Brahmans of the United Provinces and Behar are supposed to have dropped in the Brahman scale by leaving the traditional priesthood to be farmers or zemindars. At the present day the most usual cause of caste-formation in this way is widow marriage. Castes may raise themselves, as have the Ayodhya Kurmis of Behar, by prohibiting widow marriage. The process is simply that the caste, recognising that widow marriage is unorthodox, refuses to intermarry with castes who do allow widow marriage, adopt a new name indicative of their new orthodoxy and step up a rung on the social ladder. The distinction between Jats and Rajputs is based on widow marriage, as also that between many other castes throughout India.

R. N. GILCHRIST.

## GAUR AND PANDUA.

BY A. K. JAMESON, I. C. S.

THE abandonment and ruin of ancient centres of wealth and splendour may be due to many causes, the vindictiveness of a conqueror or the blind malice of barbarian hordes, a sudden natural calamity or the caprice of a tyrant, but it is characteristic of Bengal and illustrates her absolute dependence on her rivers that in the case of Gaur it should be due to a change in the course of one of these. So long as the main stream of the Ganges flowed in the channel now known as the Bhagirathi Gaur, situated on the eastern bank, maintained the position it enjoyed for five centuries as the capital of Bengal, but as the river moved further west, which apparently it did about the middle of the sixteenth century, the city at once declined and was soon deserted by reason of the pestilence which followed the decay of the stream. The situation of the town, the remains of which are still to be seen near the headquarters of the modern district of Malda, had great natural advantages. It lay in a tongue of land between the rivers Ganges and Mahananda which is not more than six miles wide at the northern end and progressively narrows to the point where the two unite, and for further protection on the east it had between it and the Mahananda a perennial swamp, possibly a still older bed of the Ganges, "the fine lake called Chutteah-Putteah in which are many islands" of the Ain-i-Akbari. The only danger was of floods from the rivers and these were easily guarded against by the elaborate series of embankments which were erected at a very early stage in the city's existence. It is at least probable that such a site was taken advantage of in remote days, and indeed the name Gaur occurs as far back as the

end of the eighth century, but at that time it appears to have denominated a tract of country and not a town ; a king of Kashmir is said to have married a daughter of the king of Gaur whose capital was Paundra-varddhana. The kings of the Pal dynasty, who ruled in Behar from the eighth to the twelfth century, took the title of Gaureswar, "Lord of Gaur." The name itself is generally derived from *gur*, raw sugar, for which Northern Bengal was long the chief source of supply, and there is nothing improbable in a name with such associations being transferred from a province to the principal mart whence the commodity was collected and whence it was exported to all parts of India. The first certain knowledge we possess of the existence of a town at the spot is in the reign of Ballal Sen, king of Bengal, who having extended his conquests to the north-west built a fort and a palace there, no doubt more easily to watch his new frontier ; this was some time between the years 1158 and 1170. His son Lakshman, the Rai Lakhmaniya of the Mussulman chroniclers, from whom the city got the name Lakhnauti (Lakshmanabati) by which it was generally known in the days of the earlier Muhammadan conquerors, at first continued to live there. Later, however, seeking perhaps to escape from the long-armed warrior who, the astrologers had foretold, would conquer the kingdom, he removed his capital to Nuddea, but in vain. Bakhtiyar Khilji, follower of Muhammad of Ghor, whose unprepossessing appearance and arms reaching below his knees had denied him employment both at Ghor and Delhi, had gathered a band of free booters in Behar and, firmly established there, he marched into the heart of Bengal. Leaving his army outside the town he entered Nuddea with only 18 followers and made straight for the palace where Lakshman was seated at dinner before his vessels of gold and vessels of silver. On the alarm being given, knowing that his fate had come upon him, the king fled to Jagannath there to pass the brief remainder of his days a devotee at the shrine of

the Lord of the World. Bakhtiyar having sacked and destroyed the city returned to Gaur which he made his capital in the year 1199.

From this date begins the authentic history of the city, meagre though it is. For henceforth Muhammadan India was practically divided into two, east and west; Bengal, though nominally subject to Delhi, was really independent and as it produced no historian of its own we have to be content to catch glimpses of it in the chronicles of the Delhi Emperors when these had dealings with Gaur. Such dealings were generally in the nature of expeditions to suppress revolts, for as one of the chroniclers says "Shrewd and knowing persons had given to Lakhnauti the name of Bulghakpur (The City of Strife) for since the time when Sultan Muizzuddin (*i.e.*, Muhammad of Ghor) conquered Delhi every governor that had been sent thence to Lakhnauti took advantage of the distance and the difficulties of the road to rebel. If they did not rebel themselves others rebelled against them, killed them and seized the country. The people of this country had for many long years evinced a disposition to revolt and the disaffected and evil-disposed amongst them generally succeeded in alienating the loyalty of the governors." As early as 1212 the governor Ghiyasuddin shook off the yoke of Delhi, built the fort at Gaur, beautified the city with mosques and public buildings and by his just and efficient administration attracted people from all quarters to settle in his dominions. But as soon as the Slave Dynasty at Delhi recovered from the confusion into which it had fallen and was again consolidated by Altamsh it was inevitable that his power should be challenged. At the first invasion, indeed, in 1225 he bought peace by payment of an enormous tribute, sign of the wealth of his kingdom, but two years later when he was absent extending his dominions towards Assam, Gaur was captured and Ghiyasuddin perished in an attempt to regain it. Once

more a governor was installed in nominal subjection to Delhi and we hear of a siege of Gaur by the King of Orissa in 1237 which was defeated by the aid of the governor of Oudh ; but the latter, yielding to the lure of the wealthiest province in India, turned out the governor of Bengal and made himself independent in 1246. In 1279 one of his successors Tughril who was "young, self-willed and daring ; ambition had long laid its egg in his head and he was heedless of the royal revenge and chastisement," assumed royal insignia ; by his lavish profusion he gained the people over to him and as the chronicler puts it, "money closed the eyes of the clear sighted and greed of gold kept the more politic in retirement," until the energetic Emperor Balban could no longer tolerate his pretensions. Two expeditions failed and at last in 1282 the Emperor in person led an army against his disloyal servant. Though it was the height of the rains he marched straight through the mud and water to Gaur, and Tughril in alarm fled to the recesses of East Bengal closely followed by Balban. For a time he eluded his pursuers but eventually a small detachment discovered his hiding place and taking him at unawares captured and slew him and brought his head to Balban. With this trophy the Emperor returned to Gaur and then happened the most dreadful scene which probably the city ever saw. Determined to teach the unruly province a lesson which it would not soon forget Balban erected gibbets on both sides of the main street over two miles in length and on these he hung all the relatives, friends, and dependents of the late governor, down even to a beggar to whom he had given alms. For two days the terrible work went on, and then calling to him his son Mahmud Bughra, who had accompanied him on the expedition, Balban said (let the chronicler Barani tell it in his own words) "Mahmud, dost thou see ? But the son did not understand and again he said 'Dost thou see ?' and the Prince was silent and amazed. A third time the question was asked and then

the old Sultan explained 'You saw my punishments in the bazaar. If ever evil and designing men should incite you to waver in your allegiance to Delhi and throw off its authority, then remember the vengeance you have seen wrought in the bazaar. Understand me and forget not that if the governors of Hind or Sind, Malwa or Guzerat, Lakhnauti or Sonargaon shall draw the sword and become rebels to the throne of Delhi then such punishment as has fallen on Tughril and his dependents will fall upon them, their wives and children and all their adherents.' With this grim warning he installed Bughra as governor and departed for Delhi, where he died three years later. On his death Bughra, who was his heir preferred the ease and luxury of Bengal to the doubtful boon of an empire which could be maintained only by the strong hand of a warrior, and he was content to do homage for his province to his own son who was chosen Emperor in his place. Again Gaur disappears from history until a new dynasty had arisen in Delhi which like its predecessor was not prepared to relinquish the richest part of its heritage without a struggle. In 1321 the Khalji Emperor, Muhammad Tughlak, made an expedition to Bengal and received the submission of Bughra's grandson Nasiruddin, but it was a short-lived supremacy and by 1325 Muhammad's son Ghiyasuddin had recognised Bengal's independence. In 1338 the royal title was assumed by Fakhruddin, commander of the army, who conspired and slew the governor only to suffer the same fate himself two years later at the hands of his general Alauddin. His reign also was short and in 1345 Haji Ilyas, who appears originally to have been a sailor, seized the throne and after defeating Fakhruddin's son who had held out in East Bengal, consolidated his kingdom and founded the Purbiya dynasty which maintained itself for forty years.

For nearly two hundred years until its conquest by Sher Khan Bengal not only maintained its complete

independence of Delhi and was ruled by its own dynasties who had to deal with their own internal revolts, but except for the two abortive attempts by Firoz Shah immediately after the foundation of the Purbiya line, it was exempt from even any attempt to subject it to Delhi, which, indeed, till the coming of the Moghals was too much occupied with its own dissensions to venture on the always difficult task of conquering Bengal. It is during these two centuries when the splendour of Gaur was at its height that we most desire information about it, yet it is just then that authorities are most wanting, for the very reason that it was beyond the purview of the only historians of the time, the chroniclers of the Court of Delhi. It seems strange that so important a kingdom should so entirely lack anyone to record its glories, but the fact remains that beyond a bare list of *kings in Firishta*, the seventeenth century historian, with an occasional note of some event in a reign that happened to strike his fancy there are practically no materials for a history of Bengal during the period of its greatness. Indeed, but for the fortunate fact that their chief buildings bear inscriptions giving the date of erection and the name of the ruling prince, we should not even know to whom to ascribe the few remnants that are left of the once great capital.

Haji Ilyas, who after his success took the more sounding title of Shamsuddin, is noteworthy especially for this that he removed the capital from Gaur to Pandua, some twenty miles further north and on the other side of the Mahananda. Probably the reason was that experience had shown that Gaur was somewhat too easily accessible from Delhi by river, whereas Pandua was protected on one side by the Mahananda which comes straight south from the hills and on all others by then impenetrable jungle ; the river could easily be defended by holding the two ports of Raikan Dighi, where the military road crossed it by a bridge and Malda (now called Nimasara i, the name Malda having

been transferred to the modern headquarters formerly known as English Bazaar) where the Kalindri joins the Mahananda. There has been some discussion as to whether a town previously existed at Pandua or was founded there for the first time by Ilyas ; it is even claimed that Pandua is the Paundra-varddhana which was the capital of Barendra in the days of Huien Tsang, the seventh century Chinese traveller. This is probably not so as the direction and distance of that place as given by him from others which can be certainly identified point to some site further to the north-west, but on the other hand the numerous fragments of Hindu sculpture found built into the Mussulman buildings seem to point to the previous existence there of a Hindu city. The only alternative suggestion is that made by Montgomery Martin in his " History and Antiquities of Eastern India " written in 1838 who supposes that Gaur was plundered of all its materials to build Pandua ; this, however, would involve the supposition that the earlier rulers in Gaur had allowed Hindu temples to remain in that place, which considering the fierce iconoclasm of the first Mussulman conquerors is exceedingly unlikely. It may be of course that these fragments had already been used in the construction of buildings in Gaur and that they were carried off with the rest of the materials to Pandua, but on the whole it seems easier to suppose that they came from the neighbourhood. Some support is lent to this by the fact that the famous saint Jalaluddin Tabrezi whose shrine was built at Pandua in the middle of the fourteenth century, had died there just one hundred years earlier in 1244, so that Pandua must have been a place of some importance in the thirteenth century to attract so great a man.

Ilyas had soon to test the correctness of his theory in removing his capital to Pandua, for in 1353 the Delhi Emperor Firoz Shah led an army against him. He seems to have had no difficulty in taking the town, indeed Ilyas made no attempt to hold it and retired to a fort at Ekdala,

some twenty miles further north in the modern district of Dinajpur, or, as others hold, in Dacca district. But he had not to deal with an Altamsh or a Balban ; Firoz, mildest and most reluctant of warriors, left Pandua untouched and when, after a siege of twenty days and a sally of the defenders in which many of them were killed, he had taken the fort he was content with having captured the canopy which was the symbol of royalty and, determining to shed no more of the blood of the faithful, he retired on receipt of a present of elephants and treasure after bestowing his name on the new capital henceforth to be known as Firozabad. Illyas died in 1357 and under his son Sikander the kingdom grew in power and prosperity and the great mosque at Adina demonstrated the large ideas and the wealth of its ruler. He had, indeed, to submit to a second invasion by Firoz in 1360, but it followed almost exactly the same course as the former, and after the capture of Ekdala the emperor again retired with his main purpose unfulfilled ; in fact he abandoned it entirely and definitely recognized the independence of Bengal. Sikander's reign, however, ended in gloom and domestic strife. He had a son Ghiyasuddin by one wife and when she died his second wife, jealous for her own children, endeavoured to poison the father's ears by the old accusation, as old as the story of Phaedra and Hippolytus. Ghiyasuddin fled to East Bengal and when his father pursued him there he took up arms in self-defence and giving battle became an involuntary parricide. He does not seem to have had any difficulty from his step-brothers and succeeded in 1389 to the throne of his too credulous father, whose corpse he respected and buried in an enclosure attached to the west wall of the mosque he had built. The seven years of his reign are said to have been the most splendid that Pandua or Gaur ever knew, and the fact that he could invite the great poet Hafiz to desert the court of Persia for his own, even though the invitation was refused, testifies to this.

He was peacefully succeeded by his son and his grandson of whom nothing is recorded, till in 1409 a Hindu zemindar Raja Kans as he is called in the chronicle—possibly Ganesh—seized the throne. It says much for the peaceable relations existing between the two religions that he was able to reign unmolested for five years and hand on the kingdom to his son Jitmal. The latter, however, whether from conviction or policy, turned Mussulman and took the name of Jalaluddin under which he ruled for 17 years with a justice that made him renowned. He lies in the great Eklakhi tomb which he built for himself and his son Ahmad succeeded him. But in 1442 he was killed by one of his slaves who enjoyed and abused the supreme power for eight days until the nobles slew him and chose Nasir Khan, a direct descendant of Haji Ilyas, to be their ruler under the name of Nasiruddin Mahmud I. His reign of 17 years was marked by the return of the court to Gaur which rose again from the neglect into which it had fallen when the support of the ruling power was removed and was adorned with many fine buildings, the ruins of which are all that are now left from its long and chequered history. Of these the rampart of the fort with its great northern gateway known as the Dakhil Darwaza and the palace of which nothing now remains but a fragment of the huge wall of the court-yard, are certainly ascribable to him and probably also the building which in the older descriptions of Gaur is called the Jail, but is almost certainly a tomb, a copy on a smaller scale of that of Jalaluddin at Pandua. His son Ruknuddin Barbak (1459—1474) added the Nim Darwaza, a gate or more probably a triumphal arch, half way between the nothern gateway in the rampart and the actual entrance to the palace, and a canal in the palace itself, one of those *nahrs* in which Mussulman rulers all over the world delighted and which add so much to the beauty of their buildings. Under his son Yusuf the three mosques, Chamkatti, Tantipara, and Lattan which stand by the

side of the main thoroughfare, were added. But their line came to an end in 1482, when a usurper, *Futteh Khan*, seized the throne and sought to establish himself firmly by creating a great bodyguard of Paiks under commanders brought from Abyssinia, a device as fatal as that of the Praetorian guards to the Roman Emperors. For only four years later a eunuch gained them over by lavish promises of donatives and after murdering the king succeeded in reigning for eight months until he in his turn was ousted and killed by the commander of the bodyguard. On his accession he changed his barbarous name for the more respectable one of *Saifuddin Firoz* and maintained himself for three years leaving a durable memory of his name in the tower or minar just outside the ramparts of the fort. But once more the Praetorians took a hand at king making and one of them who had been a slave killed Firoz's son *Mahmud II* after one year of rule, and in 1490 ascended the throne under the name of *Muzaffar*. For three years the country groaned under a tyranny that was directed particularly against piety and learning, many of the most eminent professors of which perished in the malicious rage of the upstart slave. But force was met by cunning and a descendant of the Prophet, *Saiyyid Sherif*, who condescended to serve the usurper and rose to the position of chief minister, by his subtle counsels induced *Muzaffar* gradually to disband the greater part of the army by representing that it might be induced to visit on him the fate he had assigned to *Mahmud*. Gradually also the nobles withdrew from the court and gathered round them the forces of which the king had so imprudently deprived himself. When they considered themselves sufficiently strong they threw off the mask and with *Saiyyid Sherif* at their head declared open war on the tyrant. Gaur sustained a siege of four months at the end of which time *Muzaffar* made a desperate sally and in the battle which followed twenty thousand on both sides were killed, among them *Muzaffar*

himself. Saiyyid Sherif thereupon was declared king taking the name of Alauddin Husein. To gratify his victorious troops he allowed them to sack the city for two days, but when at the end of that time they refused to obey his orders to cease, he dealt out severe justice to the plunderers and confiscated for his own use the spoils accumulated by no fewer than 12,000 of them, among which was a great collection of those golden vessels out of which Firishta says "people of large property in Bengal are accustomed to eat." His first act was to abolish the Abyssinian guards which had been the fruitful cause of so much trouble, and thereafter his kingdom enjoyed 25 years of peace and good government to which it had long been a stranger. It was during his reign that the great religious revival of Chaitanya took place, which it is said excited the sympathetic interest of the king himself. Two of his ministers who were brothers and enjoyed high office were converted by the personal influence of Chaitanya, who visited Gaur in 1516, and changing their names to Rup and Sanatan they resigned their posts and prepared to set out for Brindaban. But Husein, though perhaps intellectually interested in the new movement, was not prepared to allow it to interfere with his government, and as the two refused to accompany him in the expedition he was preparing against Orissa he put them in prison. They escaped, however, it is said by bribing the guard, to become famous as apostles of the new creed. To Husein's time belongs the Chhota Sona Masjid, gem of all the ruins in Gaur. His son Nasib or Nasrat succeed him in 1518 and Firishta considers it sufficiently noteworthy to record that instead of killing all his relatives in the usual course, he gave them provinces to rule and increased their emoluments. He added to the buildings in Gaur the Baradwari Mosque and the Qadam Rasul. In his reign the Moghal irruption under Babar swept over Northern India, but by a timely submission and at the expense of much treasure Nasrat

secured the safety of Bengal whose independence was formally recognized by treaty in 1530. Many of the adherents of the defeated Lodi dynasty fled to Bengal, where they were hospitably received and given grants of land, while the king definitely proclaimed himself their ally by marrying the daughter of Ibrahim Lodi, he who was defeated at Panipat. Towards the end of his reign Nasrat's character seems to have changed and he became cruel and oppressive. Once more and for the last time the succession was altered by revolution and his minister, Mahmud, the third of that name, seized the throne in 1533.

With him comes to an end the line of independent kings of Bengal who for two centuries had profited by the weakness and incessant revolutions of the Delhi emperors. But a man of genius Sher Khan now arose in Behar who saw that anyone who aspired to make a stand against the conquering Moghals must be possessed of the wealth and resources of Bengal, though he was fortunate in having to deal with an opponent so irresolute and infirm of purpose as Babar's son Humayun and not with the redoubtable conqueror himself. When Humayun first invaded Behar to stamp out the remnants of the Afghan power Sher Khan made his submission, but as soon as the Emperor, deceived by the show of helplessness, omitted to finish the work thoroughly and allowed himself to be diverted to a campaign in the west, Sher Khan proceeded to acquire the resources he needed at the expense of Bengal. In the year 1537 he defeated the army in a pitched battle and captured the entire train of elephants, artillery, and munitions and thus strengthened he attacked Gaur which fell into his hands in the course of a few days. It is interesting to note that in this war the king of Gaur was assisted by a few Portuguese who made their appearance in Bengal for the first time in a somewhat inauspicious manner. The Governor of Goa sent Alfonso de Mello and thirty companions to Mahmud with presents and a request to be allowed to

establish a trading centre. The king, however, suspected them of merely coming to spy out the land with a view to future conquest and put them in prison. But when he was menaced by Sher Khan he released them on condition of their helping him against the enemy, which they did and according to their historian Faria y Sousa performed prodigies of valour; a fleet of three ships sent by the governor to demand the release of the captives opportunely arriving was also induced to fight for their captor. As we have seen their assistance was in vain, and when next year the governor sent more substantial aid in nine vessels they found Gaur in possession of Sher Khan and retired with their mission unaccomplished. Faria y Sousa in his "History of the Discovery and Conquest of India by the Portuguese" gives us the only description of the city in its great days that we possess, and as he refers to the time of Mahmud and probably depended largely on hearsay when he wrote in 1695, his figures must be taken with caution. He is disappointingly brief; all he finds to say is, "The principal city Gouro is seated on the banks of the Ganges three leagues in length containing one million two hundred thousand families and well fortified; along the streets which are wide and straight rows of trees to shade the people which sometimes is in such numbers that some are trod to death." The figures are patently absurd as they would imply a total population as big as that of London, but that Gaur was a great and wealthy city is shown by the fact that Sher Khan after he had systematically sacked it was unable to carry away the accumulated mass of treasure until the fortunate capture of Humayun's baggage train at the battle of the pass of Garhi gave him the necessary transport. Even so, however, he was able to leave in it enough articles of beauty and value to tempt Humayun to stay there. For it was part of his subtle scheme to allow the emperor to think he had gained an easy victory, knowing well that in this belief the indolent

and pleasure-loving king would relax his efforts and thus give Sher Khan the chance he needed of retiring with his treasure to Behar, where at his leisure he blocked all the exits from Bengal. Knowing the character of the man he provided in Gaur all the sensual pleasures which most appealed to him : "He fitted up all the mansions of that place with an exquisite variety of ornaments and embellishments and rendered them a perfect gallery of pictures by parti-coloured carpets and costly silk stuffs." In this he succeeded beyond even his own expectations, for as Jauhar the ewer-bearer of Humayun says in his naif memoirs, "The Emperor very unaccountably shut himself up in his harem and abandoned himself to every kind of indulgence and luxury," and so delighted was he with the place that he changed its name to Jannatabad, "The Abode of Paradise." After six months of these diversions he awoke to the fact that his army had been fatally weakened by the unhealthy climate of Bengal in the rains and that if he wished ever to see Delhi again he would have to fight his way through the army of his formidable opponent which occupied all the positions of vantage. Accepting the inevitable he reluctantly set out from Gaur only to suffer irretrievable defeat at Kanauj and the subsequent fifteen years of exile from India.

The history of the city of Gaur may almost be said to end here. It remained, indeed, until 1564 the capital under the Afghan governors who held out against the Moghals, but its glory had departed ; the river which gave it life deserted it and moved further west with fatal results to its climate and in that year its unhealthiness caused Sulaiman Kirani to remove the capital to Tanda, a place of which not the smallest trace now remains ; it seems, however, to have been on the other side of the Bhagirathi somewhat to the south-west of Gaur. For a brief moment an attempt was made to revive the ancient capital. In 1575 Munim Khan, Akbar's great general, after the defeat of

the Afghans at Moghalmari, ordered the removal of the court, army, and people *en masse* from Tanda to Gaur with results that are vividly described by the author of the *Tabakat-i-Akbari*. "Sickness of many kinds now broke out among the people and every day numbers of men departed from Gaur to the grave" (*az gaur ba gor*, a somewhat untimely pun) "and bade farewell to relatives and friends. By degrees the pestilence reached such a pitch that men were unable to bury the dead and cast the corpses in the river. Every day the deaths of many amirs and officers were reported to Khan-khanan, but he took no warning and made no resolution to change his residence. He was so great a man that no one had the courage to remove the cotton of heedlessness from his ears and bring him to a sense of the actual position. His own health became affected and he grew worse and at the end of ten days he departed this life." His successor at once returned to Tanda and the very name of Gaur is not mentioned again except to record a brief stay there in 1650 by Shah Shuja when he was Viceroy of Bengal; but the fact that he built or more probably repaired the gate in the eastern rampart of the fort shows that it was still inhabited. Bowrey, however, the English merchant who lived in Bengal from 1669 to 1679 and wrote a detailed description of the countries round the Bay of Bengal, does not so much as mention it. After so many years of greatness and splendour its fate was indeed a melancholy one. No swift and sudden doom overtook it at the hands of a conqueror, but it perished by a slow process of neglect and decay in which the rank growth of vegetation in the steamy plains of Bengal, covering and finally disrupting stone from stone the abandoned buildings, played perhaps a lesser part than the deliberate vandalism of man. The river itself which had been its safeguard proved its foe and by providing easy access to the ruins it abetted the greed of those who, seeking for cheap materials to build new capitals that usurped

the place it had so long held, made it a quarry from which Murshidabad, Malda, Rajmahal, and Rangpur were in large part built, while even Hooghly and Calcutta joined in the plunder. In the middle of the eighteenth century the government made a profit out of the place by leasing the right to take away the stones to two local zemindars for the paltry revenue of Rs. 800 a year, and one is ashamed to confess that even the Company's Resident at Maldah, Charles Grant, afterwards a distinguished Director, in 1784 sent a large consignment of the finest stones he could procure to construct the pavement of St. John's Church in Calcutta then being built. There is no doubt that in time not a single trace of the city would have been left and it would have become the mere shadow of a name had not Lord Curzon instituted his wise policy of preserving the monuments of Indian greatness. Since his time jungle has been cleared, a little judicious repair has been effected, not, one is glad to say, any attempt at wholesale reconstruction but just sufficient to preserve what remains from falling into greater ruin, and the poor remnants of former splendour have been made available for the study of the lover of the past or the idle gaze of the curious.

The extreme northern limit of the city of Gaur may be taken as the great rampart which extends in an irregular curve for six miles from Sonatala on the Bhagirathi to near Bholahat on the Mahananda. It is built of earth and is 100 feet wide at the base. At the north-east point of the curve there is an extension in the shape of a square bastion 400 yards in length and breadth which tradition says contained the palace of Ballal Sen. Some remains of buildings were visible when Buchanan Hamilton visited it in 1810, but they have now completely disappeared, though the causeways crossing at right angles can still be traced. South from this rampart lay the northern suburb of the city and probably the main portion of it in Hindu times to judge by the names still adhering to various parts

of it ; here also is the burning ghat of Sadullapur on the sacred river Bhagirathi, the only one it is said which in the days of the Mussulman rulers was allowed to the Hindus and which is still a place of great sanctity. Near it is the great Sagar Dighi an artificial lake nearly a mile in length and, as the direction of the longer sides testifies, of Hindu origin, for the Muhammadan tanks lie east and west. The Dighi, however, is also sacred to the Mussulmans, as on the bank is the tomb of Shekh Akhi Siraj, a noted saint, who died in 1357 and is still the object of pilgrimages from all over Bengal. Some four miles south of the rampart the main Muhammadan city begins with the river—now reduced to very small dimensions—on the west and on the other three sides a rampart built chiefly of earth but probably originally faced with brick, 150 feet wide at the base and 50 at the top. It is about two miles along the northern and southern sides and six on the east where it has been doubled and in some places trebled with wide ditches between mainly as a protection against the overflow of the Chutteah-Putteah swamp, or sudden floods from the Mahananda. There must have been a gateway in the north rampart where the main north and south road entered the city but nothing remains of it. In the south rampart there was a handsome gate known as the Kotwali which fell in the earthquake of 1897. Beyond this the suburb of Firozpur stretched for a distance of seven miles though the breadth contracted to about a half or three-quarters of a mile. Thus the total length of the city was 17 miles and for half of that distance the average breadth was two miles. Part of it at least was densely populated, though no doubt in the suburbs the houses were more spread out and there were numerous small tanks. With the exception of the Chhota Sona Masjid which lies in the suburb of Firozpur all the principal buildings of which anything substantial remains are within the rampart of the city proper and most of them in or close to the fort which,

enclosed again by a rampart of its own, extends along the river for about a mile from north to south and some 600 yards from east to west. There are traces of raised causeways running through the town in all directions and of a system of drains to carry off the surface water. As Gaur was a great centre of trade into which all the riches of Bengal poured along the unique and splendid network of waterways on which the life of the province depended before the introduction of railways, it is reasonable to suppose that there may have been wharves along the river front, but if they ever existed they have entirely disappeared. Viewed from the summit of the Firoz Minar which with its elevation of 80 feet commands the entire countryside, Gaur at the height of its prosperity must have presented a busy and striking scene ; the river crowded with boats whose shape has remained unchanged from time immemorial, a sea of houses then as now probably mainly mud and thatch with more pretentious brick built ones lining the main street, the three great gateways one behind the other leading up to the palace with its enormous forty-foot wall, and rising from among the humbler dwellings of the people every here and there a more stately structure faced with stone or diversified with coloured tiles and adorned with the finest workmanship procurable, its rows of small domes shining with gilt, which the piety of kings or nobles had dedicated to the glory of God and the use of the citizens. It is indeed curious to reflect that almost the only buildings which have escaped the ravages of time and the plundering hand of man, who was restrained by no religious scruples from taking whatever he could get, are the mosques. On them was lavished all the skill and care of which the builders were capable and wealth was poured out to make them the most splendid and durable adornments of the city by a people who, whatever their faults, assigned a high place to their religion, so that while the houses of kings and nobles have disappeared the houses of

God still stand. At the present day the prospect from the Minar is very different, indeed were one not advised beforehand that this was the site of Gaur it would be impossible to tell that a great city had ever existed there. The laborious hand of the cultivator has gradually cleared away the *débris* and the whole countryside is covered with fields of mulberry and winter crops and orchards of the famous Malda mango, while elsewhere the hand of nature has clothed the ramparts and the indistinguishable masses of bricks and masonry which are too dilapidated for Government to preserve and too ponderous for the peasant to remove with a kindly veil of foliage, much of it the bridal creeper which in the month of December spreads its delicate white masses of foam in profusion over trees and buildings alike.

Of Pandua there is less to be said. It does not seem ever to have been as large a city as Gaur ; it begins some four miles north of Nimasarai and extends for about four miles to the north, but the breadth apparently never exceeded a mile and a half and it consisted principally of a single street paved with brick on edge with short streets leading off it on both sides. It was not embanked but it had a rampart with a gate in it on the north side.

\* The main buildings still existing in the two towns have been mentioned in connection with the kings in whose reigns they were built. There are of course ruins of many more, but in the other cases so little has been left that it is difficult to form any idea of what they may have looked like, and a visitor who wishes to get an impression of the architecture of the Mussulman kings of Bengal will find ample material in those which have been enumerated. Of that architecture detailed descriptions will be found in the "Archæological Survey of India," Vol. XV, by Cunningham, in Fergusson's "History of Indian and Eastern Architecture" and in Havell's "Indian Architecture of the Mussulman Period." It has a distinctive

character due primarily to the fact that Bengal is a country where building stone is hard to get and reliance has to be placed on brick. The Gaur brick, it may be observed, is small and thin and of very close and hard texture so much so that designs could be chiselled out of it which have retained their sharpness of outline to the present day though exposed to the corroding influences of tropical rain and heat. Large beams for roofs and lintels being also scarce this led to an early development of the arch, generally pointed, and the dome. But the most striking peculiarity lies in the form of the roof ; taking advantage of the elasticity of the bamboo the Bengalis had evolved a curvilinear roof in their domestic architecture and this was taken over bodily into buildings constructed in more durable material. The results are in questionable taste ; undoubtedly the high-pitched roofs and curving eaves are graceful and pleasing when rendered in bamboo and thatch, but the same can hardly be said of their counterparts in brick. Indeed the naked ugliness of the tomb of Fath Khan close to the Qadam Rasul which is an exact reproduction of the ordinary one-storeyed, low-eaved house of the cultivator must at once have struck the eye of anyone with the least pretensions to taste. The design was soon modified by lessening the height of the curve and in this form it appears not only in several of the buildings of Gaur and Pandua, especially the Qadam Rasul and the Eklakhi tomb, but it exercised a great influence on architecture generally throughout Northern India. All buildings from the middle of the seventeenth to the end of the eighteenth century as far north as Lahore show it to a greater or a less degree. To one accustomed to think of Muhammadan architecture in terms of the Taj or the Moti Masjid, or to come nearer home the airy grace of the Alhambra, the buildings in Gaur must seem solid and massive to an unexpected extent. The low heavy piers of the Qadam Rasul, the breadth of the wall space composed of large blocks of grey stone between

the high and narrow archways of the Adina or Baradwari mosques and the depth of the archways themselves, the thickness of the outer walls of domed buildings such as the Eklakhi tomb and the Lattan mosque, more than one-fourth of the span of the dome, all produce a sense of heaviness which is the antithesis of what one had learned to associate with Muhammadan buildings. To some extent no doubt this was made inevitable by the nature of the materials used; yet brick buildings in other parts of the world have been constructed with lightness and delicacy and it is particularly noticeable that no attempt has been made to relieve the too heavy effect by the device of recessed mouldings round the doors, each of which as Cunningham remarks is "a straight passage cut through the wall like a tunnel through a hill".

The Adina mosque is the largest and incomparably the finest of the buildings and it displays all the strong and the weak points of the Gaur style. It is on a very large scale, 500 feet externally from north to south and 285 feet from east to west. It lies on the east of the main street and as one approached the long western wall must have presented an imposing appearance, the lower 10 feet built of massive blocks of grey stone and the upper 20 of brick covered with white plaster except where an ornamental string course and panels of floral design in moulded brick work stood out brightly red. In the centre the wall rose in the form of a pointed arch to a height of 50 feet. Inside is a great quadrangle surrounded on north, east, and south by an arcade three aisles deep closed by an outside wall, while on the west lies the mosque proper. The front wall facing the quadrangle has the lower 12 feet of grey stone, the upper 18 of red brick and is pierced by 30 pointed arches each 20 feet high and 8 feet wide, the space between the arches being  $4\frac{1}{2}$  feet wide, with in the centre an arch 50 feet high and 33 feet wide. This central chamber goes straight back to the outer wall, but on either side of

if the mosque is divided into five aisles 10 feet wide running north and south by four rows of low round pillars with high square bases and capitals from which spring arches of brick. In the west wall at the end of each of the 30 bays is a semi-circular prayer niche built in the stone and slightly ornamented and above it the brick portion is covered with elaborate moulded designs. In the central chamber the stone work is carried almost up to the top of the arch and it and the three prayer niches are very profusely sculptured. To the north of this the fourth to the eight bays of the three western aisles have squat octagonal pillars supporting at a height of 8 feet a platform of stone from which again rise clustered pillars supporting the arches. This is where the king and his household paid their devotions and it has three very rich prayer niches ; access to this was obtained from outside by an inclined stone-paved walk leading up to the door.

Such a building was well calculated to strike the eye and to produce a certain effect of grandeur, and the mere enumeration of details sounds imposing, the 89 arched openings, the 260 pillars which with the walls supported 378 domes. But the design is more suited to a caravanserai (Cunningham with perhaps less than justice calls it a gigantic barn) than to a building where expression and beauty are demanded. The imagination of the architect was extremely limited and the exact similarity of the parts and their lack of any adornment to break the severe rectangular outlines produces a very monotonous effect. The carved stone and moulded brick work certainly are beautiful and the former is exquisitely finished, but its effect must have been almost lost in the dim light at the back of the mosque, and in any case the skill of the sculptor cannot atone for the poor conceptions of the architect. These defects are probably to be ascribed not so much to lack of skill on the part of the builders, for in other respects they showed plenty, as to the national tradition of India

which from the earliest days both in architecture and literature has sought to impress the imagination by sheer size, the piling up of details, whether stones in a building or the wonderful exploits of a hero with little conception of form and few of the attributes of true artistic imagination. This is the more probable if, as Havell contends and as it seems natural to suppose, these buildings were erected by local architects whose traditions, deeply rooted and hard to modify, had come down from Hindu and Buddhist days and were merely adapted to the needs of the new religion. He of course is the staunchest of Home-rulers and will admit no influence from outside Aryavartta as he calls India and it is not perhaps possible always to go the whole way with him in his partial advocacy of the artistic independence of India. For example when he says "The temples of Hindu Lakhnauti were destroyed by the first Sunni iconoclasts, but in all essential characteristics they grew up again in the mosques. Except for the Arabic inscriptions carved on the walls the mosques bear not the faintest trace of inspiration other than Indo-Aryan. The domes and arches are Indian Buddhist not Saracenic," One may point out that the Buddhist religion vanished from Bengal when the Sen dynasty succeeded that of the Pals early in the twelfth century, that the earliest extant building dates from 1369 and that of those which were erected in the interval not the faintest trace remains to justify us in saying that the ancient styles continued unchanged. Moreover he has paid but little attention to the chronological order of the buildings that remain; for the great support of his thesis is the resemblance between the Qadam Rasul and the common type of Hindu temple still to be seen by the hundred all over Bengal. The resemblance is certainly striking but the force of the argument is considerably lessened when one notes that the Qadam Rasul is almost the most recent having been erected in 1533 just five years before Gaur was taken by Sher Khan and of all those built

during the three hundred years of its greatness and independence not a single one is on the same plan.

The others fall into two main groups which may be called the Adina and Eklakhi styles from the two most conspicuous examples of them. To the former belong the Baradwari, Tantipara and Chhota Sona masjids, though on a very much smaller scale than that of Adina itself. It consists of an oblong building divided lengthways into aisles by one or more rows of pillars from which spring arches, each section included within four pillars or two pillars and a wall being surmounted by a separate small dome. In front of the building is a courtyard which in the case of Adina has been surrounded on the other three sides by porticos and a great enclosing wall but in the others is open. Havell says this plan is "evidently of Buddhist Hindu origin," but he adduces no evidence in support of his dictum and a perusal of his own work, "Ancient and Mediæval Architecture of India", which deals with pre-Muslim days does not afford any parallel among the buildings illustrated. On the other hand it may be remarked that at the opposite end of the Muhammadan world the mosque at Cordova which was built mainly in the tenth century provides a very similar plan, a high and almost unadorned outer wall enclosing a courtyard at one side of which the mosque consists of a series of aisles formed by rows of short pillars from which spring arches of brick. It would, indeed, be difficult to imagine two religions more absolutely opposed to one another than are the Hindu and the Muslim in their modes of worship, and it stands to reason that the buildings required by each must be of an entirely different nature. Moreover the first Mussulman conquerors of Bengal, lacking though they may have been in artistic capabilities, were more bigoted upholders of their religion than their more cultured successors and in their hatred of the very name of idolatry they are the less likely to have permitted the conquered race to build for

houses of prayer what savoured of the accursed thing. The Qadam Rasul is not really opposed to this theory, for, as already pointed out, it is very late and quite unique, and in any case it is not strictly speaking a mosque at all but a shrine in which the central object is an imprint of the foot of the Prophet—a relic in fact the worship of which was a later accretion to the pure faith of the early invaders and a consequence no doubt of the all-pervading atmosphere of Hinduism. It is therefore not a matter for surprise that the builders should have adopted the model of a Hindu shrine.

The second main type represented by the tomb of Mahmud I and the Chamkatti and Lattan mosques has much greater affinities with pre-Mussulman work and probably may be a descendant of the Buddhist *stupa*. It consists externally of a square building which internally is octagonal, surmounted by a dome which in the case of the Eklakhi tomb is of nearly 50 feet span. In the Lattan mosque a verandah has been added at the east side. The slight curvature of the roofs also points to a Bengali origin. It appears, however, that the design was originally intended for tombs and was only later adapted to the requirements of a mosque, for which indeed it is not particularly well suited. Muhammadanism is peculiarly a congregational form of worship, hence the big courtyards and open arches leading right up to the pulpit and the prayer niches permitting those outside to act as one with those within, an object which could not be so effectively attained in mosques of this type.

In addition to these two main groups there are only the gateways which cannot be called distinctively either Hindu or Muhammadan, and the Minar which of course Havell claims as a *Jay-stambha* or pillar of victory, though it is much more probably a minaret from which the faithful were called to prayer in an adjoining mosque which has disappeared.

But if it is at least doubtful whether the Mussulman conquerors brought absolutely no fresh inspiration into the artistic life of Bengal and that everything is to be traced without reservation to that marvellous golden epoch which the modern champions of Hindu culture see shining in the past before the sacred soil of India knew the footsteps of a conqueror, it is at least certain that in Bengal to a greater extent perhaps than elsewhere in India the local craftsman in carrying out any fresh ideas he may have received was still dominated by the psychological principles ingrained in his nature by two thousand years of Hindu and Buddhist teaching and the results are evident in all the buildings of Gaur.

If the Bengal craftsman must be pronounced lacking in the sense of form and the capability of design he must, however, be allowed a full meed of praise for the beauty, delicacy and variety of his surface ornament. The practice of moulding designs in wet clay and applying them after hardening in the shape of plaques to the facades of buildings was no doubt early developed and this is seen at its best on the Eklakhi tomb, the Qadam Rasul, the Tantipara mosque and the Dakhil Darwaza. The designs are all conventionalised flowers and foliage and intricate geometrical patterns and the variety of treatment is very large, hardly any two being exactly alike. Some of them as already mentioned appear to have been carved out of the brick after firing and from this it was an easy transition to reproducing the same idea in the stone with which many of the buildings were faced, a stone which the older descriptions of the ruins call marble though actually it is a dark coloured hornblende hard to work. The finest examples of this are in the Adina, Baradwari and Chhota Sona mosques. Here again, however, it must be observed that Havell's continuous tradition theory can be accepted only with reservations. The few mutilated fragments that remain of Hindu carved stone panelling show that

it was deeply incised the pattern standing out boldly and decidedly in marked contrast with the extremely shallow designs of later days. The strict interpretation which the Mussulmans put on the prohibition against making the likeness of any living thing accounts of course for the absence of the figures of men and animals of which so much Hindu sculpture is composed, but the latter had also their floral designs and the difference both of the motifs and their execution which shows itself in the Mussulman work is difficult to account for without bringing in some extraneous influence, especially in a country so conservative as India always has been. The difference is strikingly illustrated in the Adina mosque where much Hindu carved work has been inserted among the later Muhammadan decoration and stands out in marked contrast with it. Once more one may take an illustration from Mussulman Spain and see a closer resemblance in conception though not in workmanship between the plaster work designs on the walls of the Alhambra executed in the fourteenth century and the Gaur sculptures than between them and their Hindu forerunners. It is, of course, not suggested that there is any causal connection between the two, but the fact of similarity of artistic idea in countries so widely separated whose only common point lay in their religion which was propagated from a common centre, tends to throw some doubt on the exclusively Hindu provenance of the one for which Havell so passionately contends.

Only one other feature of the Gaur architecture need be mentioned and that is the encaustic tile work which even Havell has to admit was an importation from Persia. It was extensively employed in many of the buildings and the Lattan mosque was originally completely covered with it both outside and in—hence possibly its name, the Dancing Girl mosque, for when the colours were fresh it must have looked as gaudy as the apparel of a nautch girl. It cannot be said, however, that any great artistry was shown in

this branch of the ornamentation ; the colours are few, mainly blue, green and yellow, and they are disposed for the most part simply in horizontal stripes, though in some cases they have been used to form designs of flowers and arabesques which are more pleasing.

Yet after all criticisms from an artistic standpoint have been allowed their full weight the fact remains that the buildings of Gaur and Pandua are impressive and in parts beautiful and India would have been poorer by many monuments well worth study had not Lord Curzon arrested the process of dissolution. They do testify to a culture which if not of the highest rank yet well deserves a place in the temple of Art. The poor remnants of the skill and taste so apparent there may be faintly discerned in the carved wooden lintels and jambs of many of the doors of the older houses in Malda and Nimasarai which reproduce in the easier material the more simple of the designs which in the greater days of old were carried out in stone. But in these the workmanship is crude and even this shadow of dying art seems to have faded out in recent years as none of the newer houses show any example of it. Whether it could be revived is a question which admits of no certain answer, but the Indian patriots whose taste is apparently satisfied with the artistic barbarities with which so much of modern Bengal is disfigured might be recommended to make a pilgrimage to their ancient capital.

A. K. JAMESON.

*Malda.*

## AN ENQUIRY INTO THE CAUSES OF THE PERISHING OF PAPER.

BY J. A. CHAPMAN.

THE aim in view, when an enquiry into the causes of the perishing of paper was suggested, was to determine whether the "life" of the books in Indian libraries could be prolonged by the use of artificial means, and, if so, what means. The perishing in question is not that caused by insect borers, white ant, or similar pests, but perishing due to oxidization of the cellulose, or infection by atmospheric enzymes and fungoid organisms, or some other undiscovered cause. Among the artificial means that have been suggested as possibly efficacious are the use of air-conditioning plants to regulate temperature and humidity in the libraries, and the use of antiseptics.

The perishing of paper is an evil not unknown in Europe, and in several countries—in England by the Royal Society of Arts, whose report on the subject was published in 1898, and by the *Prufungsamt* in Germany—enquiries have been held. It might at first sight have appeared that there could be little further need for investigation in India. This is not the view that was held, and for this reason. The perishing of paper in the conditions that obtain in Europe is so relatively slight in extent, that the view taken there has been that it would suffice were more care taken in future in the manufacture of paper, and in the selection of paper for all permanent records, including the more valuable books. The enquiries held in Europe have stopped short at the very point at which it is so important that they should be taken up in India; for the tendency for paper to perish is so intensified in this country, that thousands of *existing* books will be lost, unless means are discovered in

time to ensure their preservation. It is a reasonable opinion, too, that the view taken in Europe was a short-sighted one, and that the perishing of paper in the European libraries, though a very slow process compared with what happens in India, is a *continuous* process, and will one day be recognised as having really called for artificial measures of protection.

How much more rapid the process is in India than in England has been shown by a comparison of books in the Imperial Library with the British Museum copies. The Imperial Library copy of the 1871 edition of Arnold's "Friendship's Garland" is so complete a wreck, that anyone would suppose that it had been baked and scorched before a furnace. The Imperial Library copy of F. O. Adam's "History of Japan" (London 1874-75) is not so utter a ruin, but it has long ceased to be a book that anyone could be given to read. The following is the report received on the British Museum copies:—Arnold's "Friendship's Garland." "The paper, though it has lost its freshness, is still quite sound. On the other hand the corners of two leaves have once been turned down, and, though smoothed out again, the fibre of the paper all along the crease is broken." "Adam's 'History of Japan.' Although in our Reference Library, this shows very little sign of wear and tear, and the paper is as good as new."

For the purpose of the enquiry copies of a book have been collected at the Imperial Library, such copies being collected in each case as would show complete perishing in one instance, in another partial perishing, and in third little or none. The co-operation of other librarians was readily given, but even so it was sometimes difficult to secure exactly what was wanted, especially when what was, was a copy of a book that showed little or no perishing. That proves, it may be remarked by the way, how soon the process begins in India, and how uniform the results tend to be. In one instance it was found necessary to send to London

for a second-hand copy of the edition. The book in question was the 1871 edition of Arnold's "Friendship's Garland," a second-hand copy of which Mr. John Murray, the Publisher, very kindly secured.

When the copy of a book in one library is found to show much less perishing than the copy in another, it has hitherto always been found that the first library is very much *younger* than the second. The search for two libraries of approximately the same age, in one of which books should be found to have perished, while in the other they have not, has so far been unsuccessful, but has not yet been abandoned. The fact that they should not have perished in one, while they have in the other, the climatic conditions being very similar, would be due to some differences of treatment of the books in the two libraries, as that in the first they had been kept in closed shelving, and in the other in open. The laboratory tests may show that paper withstands the climate better in closed shelving. If practical experience should have proved this also, it would be of high importance to know it, and light would probably be thrown on other aspects of the question, how best to keep books in India.

An opinion generally, but very naturally, held at the beginning was that perished books would be found almost invariably to bear date later than 1860; that is, that they would be books in the manufacture of the paper of which machine-made wood-pulp had been largely used. That was an erroneous opinion. A very high proportion of the perished books bear dates from 1800 to 1820—so high a proportion in fact, as to suggest that the makers of paper of those days had some exceptional difficulties to contend with, due, one would suppose, to the duration of the Napoleonic wars, and possibly traceable to the Berlin Decrees. An enquiry on this point has been addressed to the printers of the British Museum Catalogue. That there was something exceptional during those years is suggested

by a further fact. It is that certain old files show what may be described as a sudden "break" in the power of resistance of the paper. The *Madras Gazette* file in one library from 1795 to 12th September 1812 is in good condition. The issues from 19th September 1812 to about 1830 have perished. The *Bombay Courier* file in the same library from 1795 to 6th January 1816 is in good condition. The issues from 7th January 1816 to 1827 have perished. That suggests that an old stock of paper was exhausted, and a new begun, in 1812 in the first instance, and in 1816 in the second. The "recovery" after 1830 in the first instance, and after 1827 in the second, is also not without significance.

Another opinion—that, when the paper that has perished was made after 1860, it will almost invariably be found to have been because of the high percentage of wood-pulp used in the manufacture is possibly equally erroneous. One instance shows that it may be, but, of course, one is not proof. The Imperial Library copy of the British Museum Catalogue has perished, especially the volume "K-Kznac." Portions of the paper of this volume were submitted to the Expert Paper Chemist in the employment of Messrs. William Clowes and Sons, Ltd., the printers of the Catalogue. The following is his report :—

"The paper was made from Esparto, with, perhaps, a trace of the best wood-pulp, but not more than 5 per cent. The sizing agent was Milk of Rosin, precipitated by Sulphate of Alumina. There is nothing else in the composition of the paper that could have any bearing on the peculiar effect produced."

Another opinion that was expressed at the beginning was that impure coal gas fumes were probably largely responsible for the perishing of the paper, which was the result of dehydration of cellulose, due to an increase of the amount of sulphuric acid gaining access to the books,

and to conditions facilitating the dehydrating action of sulphuric acid. An examination of the books in the Serampore College Library showed that the theory could not be held without at least some modification ; for in that library there is the proportion of perished books to be expected in a collection of its age, and it is safe to assert that coal gas has not been burnt in Serampore since the world began.

The sulphuric acid, which in the opinion quoted was taken to be the dehydrating agent, was the sulphur dioxide assumed to be present in the Calcutta gas, converted in the presence of air and moisture into sulphuric acid. Crude coal gas contains quite large amounts of gaseous sulphur compounds, which on combustion yield sulphur dioxide, and which are ordinarily removed as far as possible by the process known as "washing." The "washing" of coal gas is less efficient in a hot country than in a cold one, the solubility of a gas diminishing with increase of temperature. It was understood that those in charge of the gas works in Calcutta had had many difficulties to contend with in the matter of "washing," and that in the early days of gas illumination of the city the gas contained large quantities of sulphur compounds.

It was not found possible to obtain certain information as to the quality of the Calcutta gas supply in the past ; but it was ascertained that during 1909 and 1910 a large number of photometric and partial chemical examinations of the gas had been made by the Chief Engineer of the Corporation in person, and in no case was the presence of sulphuretted hydrogen ( $H_2 S$ ) detected. "That," the Chief Engineer's report added, "would be one of the possible constituents most injurious to paper, as its combustion in a damp atmosphere produces  $H_2 S O_3$ , which tends to oxidise to  $H_2 S O_4$ ." The Chief Engineer was further of opinion that, ventilation in India through large open windows being so ample, such deleterious products

as proceed from the combustion of gas will be swept away before any damage can be done.

The special enquiry in India, deemed so important, is being conducted at the Indian Institute of Science at Bangalore. The tests show that perished paper has always a high acid value, indicating the formation of free acid during perishing. Artificial perishing can be brought about by increased temperature, and appears to be greatest in oxygen, but also takes place to an appreciable extent in air, nitrogen, carbon dioxide, and in a vacuum. In some instances the acid value of the paper has not increased, thus indicating that the perishing is not necessarily due to the production of acid.

Further information is desired regarding the condition in Indian libraries of files of newspapers, gazettes, sets of journals, such as those of the Royal Society and the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and books published between 1650 and 1850, and, where there are signs of perishing, at what dates they become distinct. It will be of importance to ascertain how the files have been kept, and any information as to the origin or nature of the paper will be of great value. Here the maximum of difficulty is likely to be experienced, which is the justification of the wish to give as wide publicity as possible to the fact that an enquiry is being held. It was possible, as the reader will have observed, to obtain quite precise information regarding the paper of which volume K-Kznac of the British Museum Catalogue is composed ; but that volume was of comparatively recent provenance. It will be much more difficult to get equally precise information regarding the paper of, say, the *Madras Gazette* of 1812. To the authorities of the Imperial Library, where the information is being collected, any assistance that can be given by a Paper Expert or a Librarian as to any accessible file of gazettes or old books will be most welcome.

If the results of the enquiry should show that our books would be better in closed shelving, it is to be hoped

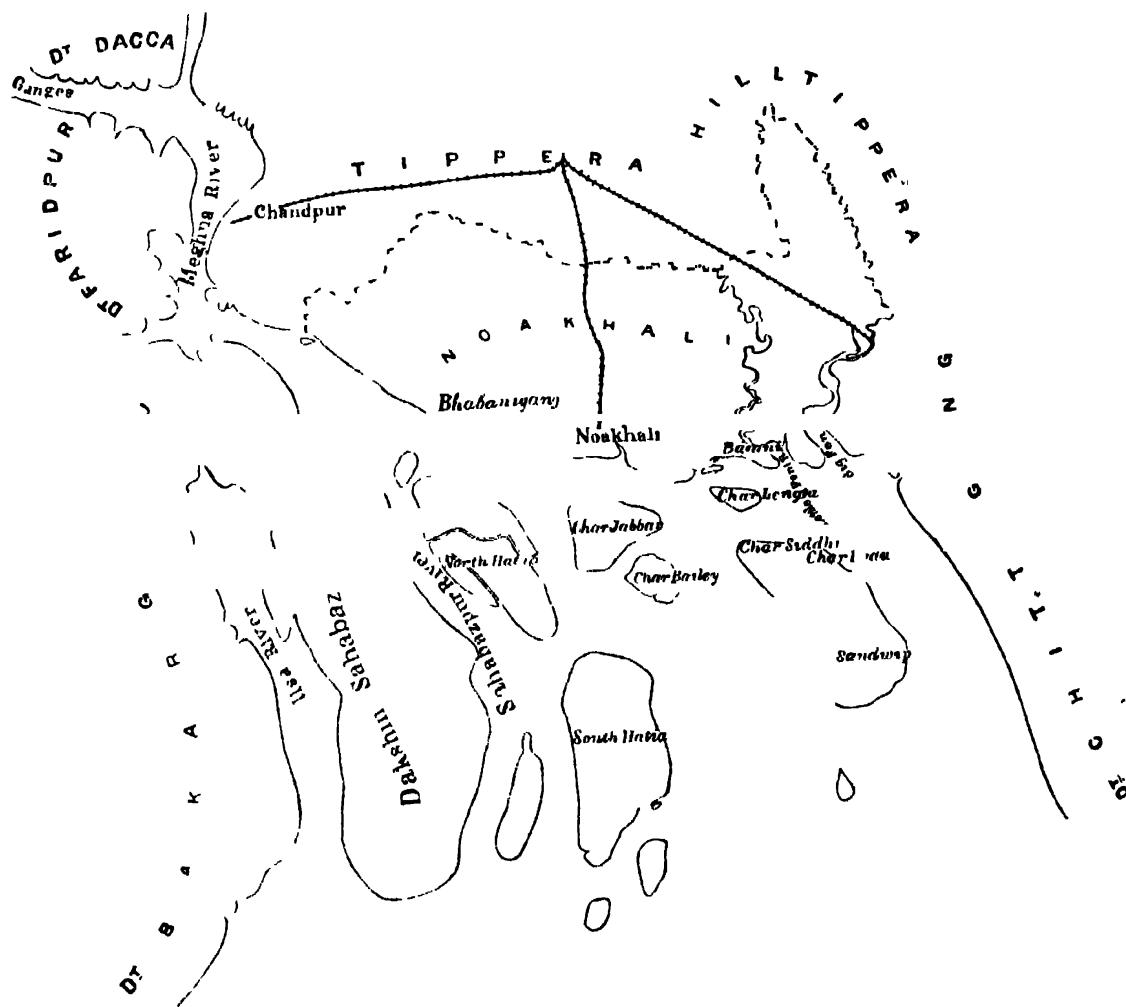
that we shall not prove to be too wedded to the old opinion that "books must have air." What do those who pronounce that so magisterially suppose a book to be? A homogeneous unit? It is not that. In that it contains paper, it is cellulose, but not cellulose chemically neutral, but containing traces of the caustic soda and chloride of lime used in the bleaching, not thoroughly washed out. The days of the sun bleaching of fibre are past. The cellulose may have been loaded with china clay, as the paper of the copy of "Friendship's Garland" was found to be. A book, in addition, is a certain quantity of printer's ink, glue, thread, and leather or cloth, whichever has been used to bind it. It is seen, then, to be very far from being a homogeneous unit. The air that books "must have," as experience showed, may well have been air that only parts of books "must have" and, a book being a thing to read, possibly not the more valuable parts. Our concern is to preserve those parts, at the sacrifice, if necessary, of everything else.

J. A. CHAPMAN.

*Calcutta.*

# TWO CENTURIES OF GROWTH ON THE EASTERN SIDE OF THE GANGES DELTA.

BY W. H. THOMPSON.



THE deltas of the world about which most is known and most has been written, those of the Nile and the Mississippi, have been built out into waters where there is very little tidal movement. Rivers that fall into seas in which the tides are strong are ordinarily unable to build themselves deltas. It is only such a river as the Meghna,

carrying as it does the waters of the Ganges and the Brahmaputra as well as the waters of the Upper Meghna coming down from Sylhet, that is strong enough to break the rule to which smaller streams must conform. The Nile and the Mississippi are subject to annual floods like the Ganges. In addition to the steady deposit of silt when the waters are low there is an additional deposit annually when the rivers are in flood. In the case of the Meghna, to put it in the language of mathematics, added to this one there are two other periodic functions involved in the problem. Every tide has some part in the history of the growth of the delta and every moon brings spring tides which play a larger part. It may be that other periodic functions about which very little is known, such, for instance, as those responsible for the change in the magnetic variation, play a part but theirs are such long periods that history is not carried back far enough for their influence even to be guessed. In the deltas of the Nile and the Mississippi growth goes on at the point where the main waters of the river meet the salt water and the silt is precipitated. Except that the annual floods mark periods of activity and quiescence the growth is steady and local, but in the case of the Ganges the action of the tides moves the silt over such a wide area, and, interacting with the forces of the river, produces such apparently haphazard changes in the configuration of the land that the existence of any steady growth is obscured. The first result is that where the main stream enters the sea there is an estuary within the delta, and the second is that, while off the deltas of the Mississippi and the Nile the five fathoms line is only a few hundred yards from the furthest land, in the case of the Ganges it is 35 miles away. Even in the case of the Nile and the Mississippi evidence on the basis of which the rate of progress of the delta in its advance into the sea can be estimated is very scanty. Only the comparison of measurement and maps

taken and prepared over a span of hundreds and even thousands of years can supply a sound basis, and such, in no part of the world, carry us back more than a period comparatively very short. The first reliable maps of the Ganges delta are those prepared by Major Rennell, "the first great English Geographer" whose work in Bengal lasted from 1764 to 1777. His first essay was to find the shortest water route open all the year round for the East India Company's country boats from the main Ganges river down to Calcutta. His wider surveys came later and his Atlas of Bengal and larger maps were published after he returned to England.

It happens that in the eastern part of the delta between the main outlet and the hills separating India from Burma, the part of the seaface and islands comprised in the present Noakhali district, there have been surveys spaced more evenly than on the western side across the span of years between Rennell's time and the present day. Between 1834 and 1836 one Captain Hodges surveyed all the islands at present in Noakhali district and the coast line from the mouth of the Feni river westward to a point some distance west of Noakhali town. Where changes were going on most quickly Lieutenant Siddons, the Revenue Surveyor of Chittagong, revised his survey by another in 1839-40. The Revenue Survey of Noakhali came in 1864-65. A Diara\* Survey followed in 1881-82 and the seaface and islands have recently been surveyed again in 1914-16 in the course of Settlement Operations. The wide gap between Rennell and Hodges is partly bridged by sketch map found in the report of one Walters, a covenant-ed Joint Magistrate of the Company's service, written in 1819. In 1815 two Europeans of the Company's service travelling by boat with a large sum of the Company's money were attacked by dacoits near the northern end of the island

\* A survey for the purpose of resumption and assessment of accretions formed since the Revenue Survey.

of Dakshin Sahabazpur. One was murdered and the other left for dead. Subsequent investigation showed much confusion in matters of territorial jurisdiction and there had been numerous complaints against the police and the servants of the Salt Department, and in revenue matters in these parts. Walters was in 1818 placed in charge of all the islands in the mouth of the Meghna to enquire into abuses and suggest remedies. His report is extremely interesting but for the present purpose it is the sketch maps with which he illustrated it that are valuable. They are only sketches, but they mark all the village names and as these names appear again in Hodges' maps and many survive till the present day the evidence which the sketch maps afford becomes useful.

Rennell's map most convenient to use in investigating the growth at the edge of the delta is a plate inscribed:—

“The southern part of Dacca and the low lands of Tippera with the islands in the mouth of the Ganges; surveyed by Rennell Ritchie Martin and Richards, 1762—1773: scale 1 inch = 5 miles.”

Martin and Richards were Rennell's Assistants. Martin worked only on the western side of the Meghna, Richards helped Rennell to survey the eastern side, but they only surveyed the mainland. The survey of the detached islands is the work of Ritchie, a Marine Surveyor, from whom Rennell borrowed. Ritchie being a Marine Surveyor showed only the outline of the islands, and it is for this reason that Rennell's map shows no place names or internal features on the island such as afford on the mainland a ready method of fitting his maps with maps of later days. Ritchie's method, moreover, leaves his accuracy open to doubt. He used anchored boats and estimated the distance between them by taking in one the time between the flash and sound of a gun fired from the other. By this means he “formed a chain of triangle athwart the head of the Bay of Bengal to connect the

islands of Soondeep and Sauger." On account of his methods it has been doubted whether the position of the island of Hatia in Rennell's maps in which it appears so far to the east, was correctly shown. Walters to a great extent clears up this doubt. He states that Hatia had been undergoing heavy diluvion on the eastern side, and includes all the area on the western side in his list of islands and accretions which he found to be new and not yet to have been assessed to revenue. The sketch map compared with Hodges' map show that almost all the eastern half of the island as it was in 1819 had gone by 1836 and much new land had formed on the western side.

Rennell's map shows a line across the western part of the mainland of Noakhali which is marked "seacoast in 1730." Upon what evidence he mapped the line and marked it is unknown, but the sign he used makes it appear that he was mapping on old high bank. Such a bank is not now visible on the spot, but the open spaces in the villages now lying south of the Noakhali-Bhawaniganj road, the slightly sandier soil and the smaller size of the betelnut gardens adjoining the homesteads point to the conclusion that they are newer than the villages north of the road. The early correspondence of the Tippera Collectorate confirms it. The villages outside the line were a constant source of trouble to the Collectors from 1779 to 1794. Having been added to Bhulua since 1728 they were constantly in dispute between the co-sharer proprietors of the Pargana, who each claimed this share in them, while their properties in the rest of the Pargana had been partitioned between them.

According to Rennell's maps there was no junction of the main stream of the Ganges and the Meghna before they reached the sea. In his time the great stream by which steamers pass from Goalundo to Chandpur did not exist. There was a narrow channel through Rajnagar Pargana, but to go from where Goalundo now is to Chandpur by the

big rivers involved coming as far south as the latitude of Barisal. The change that brought the Ganges and the Meghna together has been put down to the great Teesta floods of 1787, but it certainly was not in any way catastrophic. Rather there was a continually increasing infiltration from the Ganges into the Meghna until the main waters of the former had definitely forsaken the Arialkhan channel. In Rennell's time the Meghna from Chandpur to the sea formed an elongated S. The completion of the figure had turned the stream at the southern end of it against the western shore and opened a passage between the South and North Sahabazpur which are known to have been practically contiguous at the beginning of the 18th century. This it was that rendered possible the large accretions to the western end of the Noakhali seaface outside the line of 1730. Since the rivers joined, their tendency has been to form one wide curve concave to the east instead of the double one,—to double the wave length of the oscillation as became a current of double the power. The volume of water passing by the Arialkhan river, which supplies the Ilsa channel to the sea west of Dakshin Sahabazpur island, diminished at the same time. The eastern channel became the dominant one. It cut away the accretions to the Noakhali coast and Hatia island stood directly in its path. It could not sweep it away immediately, and, in passing it by, took the channel to the east of it rather than the one to the west, for the former was more in the direct line of its strength. Hatia was diluviated very fast on the east, especially between 1819 and 1836, but under its own lee it was able to grow almost as rapidly on the west and south. The Sahabazpur river and the island of Dakshin Sahabazpur joined the march towards the west, the island taking advantage of the weakening force of the Ilsa river. This progress is the outstanding feature of the 19th century. As Major Jack shows in the Bakarganj Settlement Report it has gone so far that the

channel from the Meghna into the Ilsa show signs of closing up altogether and re-uniting the two Sahabazpur parganas. To the west the progress still continues, but a new development has appeared to the east. On a smaller scale in the delta it very often happens that a channel which has increased in importance and widened itself for its own accommodation overgrows its strength, and, unable to fill the whole of the bed it has made, throws up sand banks in the middle and passes on either side. I have been describing the rivers as carving out their own destinies and the land as a passive agent, but in reality, as is obvious at this point, it is impossible to distinguish cause and effect. Almost as convincing and more imaginative a narrative could be written assuming the river the passive agent and flowing

"Brimming and bright and large till sands begin  
 To stem his watery march and dam his streams  
 And split his currents ; that for many a league  
 The shorn and parcelled "Meghna" strains along  
 Through beds of sand and matted rushy isles  
 A foiled circuitous wanderer."

But on the whole, as the dwellers in the delta know the last description does not altogether suit the big river. Having pared down Hatia on one side and broken down the barrier from the projection in front of Noakhali town by Char Siddhi and Char Badu to Sandwip which seemed nearly complete in 1840, the eastern arm of the Meghna had grown too wide. The two big islands Char Jabbar and Char Bailey appeared between 1890 and 1900 in its bed, and the whole channel has for years been getting shallower. That the eastern channel will remain long divided now seems improbable. Char Jabbar shows signs of joining to the mainland and if it does so the eastern channel will again be reduced to a size compatible with the volume of the current. Through all the changes which have taken place elsewhere the island of Sandwip has shown remarkable stability. It is known to have been in existence in the 16th century and a specially luxuriant spot, a fact from which

it is to be concluded that it was not by any means a new island even then. In the last century and a half it has shifted practically not at all and it may very well stand now where it stood when Cesare Fedrico the Venetian saw it in 1569. Sandwip may be looked upon as the embodiment of the persistent assertion by the Feni river to independence of the Meghna and independent control of its own channel to the sea, that passing between Sandwip and the coast of Chittagong. But on the one hand the tide passing up the channel and unable to find space in which to spend its energy in the Feni estuary, and on the other hand the flow from the Meghna when the tide is falling keep a passage open between Sandwip and the mainland. This is a debatable area between water and land. The channel up to date has always remained. It widens itself, grows too wide and an island forms in the middle splitting it into two. One of these channels grows at the expense of the other until it is split in the same way. The process is continually going on. First, before 1760, Bamni formed in the middle of the channel. The channel to the south became the important one and that to the north disappeared uniting Bamni to the mainland. Cutting away Bamni it became too wide and Siddhi began to form about 1825. When Siddhi formed the southern channel was the wider, but the northern became the dominant one and was increasing in width very fast about 1835 while, in the channel south of Char Siddhi, Char Badu appeared just before 1835 dividing it into two in its turn. Of these two the southern was dominant and cut deep into Sandwip, leaving its mark in the shape of the old land of Pargana Niz Sandwip to this day, while Char Badu began to join Char Siddhi. But, of the three channels, that between Siddhi and Bamni was still the dominant one, and another island, Char Pir Baksha, appeared between Char Badu and Sandwip about 1860. Now both Char Siddhi and Char Badu are

oined to Sandwip, but the northern channel has so widened itself that a new island, Char Lengta, has formed (about 910) between Siddhi and Bamni splitting the channel into two. It has already been decided which of these two is to be the dominant. Char Lengta is already showing signs of diluvion on the south and Siddhi and Badu are still being diluviated, while Lengta is growing on the north and new chars are forming against the mainland of Bamni. The total width of the fairways between Sandwip and the mainland has been almost exactly the same at every survey (a little over 4 miles) despite the varying attention which the main force of the eastern channel of the Meghna has paid to the gap, a circumstance which goes to show that it is the tide, the constant factor, and not the river currents, which has determined that the channel small remain open. If it were not for the tide the probabilities are that the Feni river would be as independent of the Meghna at its mouth as the Alabama river is of the Mississippi.

Long before Char Jabbar formed in the eastern channel from the Meghna to the sea there had been a tendency for the river to shoal. Tum Char formed some time about 1860 nearer Hatia. It did not remain long enough to come under cultivation, but it threw the current against the Hatia shore, where it found a weak spot, a narrow channel passing across the island, broke into it and widened it so that Hatia is now two islands separated by a mile wide passage.

Such are the changes which have taken place among the islands. They and the channels between them are continually shifting. The tendency to growth is completely obscured. The fight made by the mainland to advance against the sea has fluctuated in a similar manner. The first thrust immediately after 1730 was from the land, along all the western half of the sea face of Noakhali district. The water was pushed back a distance of 8 or 9 miles on a front of 18 miles. The advance opposite Noakhali up till

1770 was about 4 miles. The water attacked about the same time or rather later on the eastern half of the seaface at the mouths of the two Feni rivers. This attack reached its furthest advance in the year 1800, but behind it Bamni island had been growing to the north, and, when the attack spent itself, it was quickly followed by Bamni becoming joined on to the mainland. The water's counterattack had by 1836 regained most of the land which had formed on the western half of the seaface, but the land had pushed forward a salient 10 miles deep and about 17 miles wide at the base, opposite or a little east of Noakhali town, retaining, however, only a precarious hold on its gains. At the same time the toe of Bamni at its south-east corner was thrust out, the waters of the two Feni rivers having united and turned in a direction parallel to the Chittagong coast. A spit of land with islands and sand banks at the end of it was pushed down the channel that lies to the east of Sandwip as far south as the northern end of Sandwip itself. In 1836 the effort of the land seems to have reached its maximum. This was a time of very rapid changes. Siddon's survey followed Hodges by only four years, but in that time it became certain that there would be no joining of Char Siddi to the mainland as had been the case with Bamni. Though the eastern face of the salient opposite Noakhali was driven in, the land maintained itself almost as far out until the Revenue Survey of 1864. The furthest point was pushed a little west opposite Noakhali town and was as much as 12 miles south of it, and further west there were steady accretions. The furthest point was still on the same line in 1881, although driven a mile further back, and the salient much sharpened. The accretions further west had not gained, but rather the reverse, and the toe of Bamni had been cut off. The years since 1881 have been years of defeat for the land. All along the west it has been steadily cut back. Opposite Noakhali not only has the salient been driven in and the

sea advanced 11 miles practically to the line of 1730, but a concentrated attack has been made, especially in the last five years, at the weak point where the coast is broken by the mouth of the Noakhali khal. Erosion at this point has been very rapid, but the island of Char Jabbar is advancing fast behind the attack and it seems hopeful that within the next few years there may be a repetition of what took place in 1800 when it was determined that Bamni should become part of the mainland. The circumstances almost seem to form an exact parallel.

Since 1730 the history of the struggle of the mainland to advance has been one of alternate success and failure, but, contrary to what might have been expected, the land has gained nothing. At every point it has at some time or other in the two centuries reached out very much further than it reaches now. In 1770, in 1836, in 1864 and in 1881 the mainland area was considerably more than it is now. About 1836 it seems to have reached its maximum, and it is now about what it was two hundred years ago. Though there has been considerable progress in the south of Hatia and Dakshin Sahabazpur islands, Sandwip at the south has lost considerably and the area of all the islands put together has increased very little. The only evidence of steady growth of the delta is to be got from a comparison of the Marine Survey map of Commander Lloyd prepared in 1840 and a revision lately completed by Mr. H. G. Reakes under the Port Commissioners of Calcutta. This shows that the 5 fathoms line has moved very little between Saugor Island and the mouth of the Meghna. Opposite that, however, it has advanced since 1840 so as to include an area of some 500 square miles. Though there is very little additional land to show for the enormous volume of silt that is brought down every year, the growth of the delta has been going on steadily under the waters of the Bay.

W. H. THOMPSON.

*Comilla.*

## MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS AS A MEANS OF SIGNALLING: CIVIL AND MILITARY.

BY CLEMENT ANTROBUS HARRIS,

*Author of the "Story of British Music."*

**B**ESIDES being the "Sister of sunrise: herald of life to be" as Swinburne calls it, music has from time to time been turned to many purely utilitarian purposes. The Greeks thought highly of it as a factor in education; they also were apparently the first to recognise its therapeutic value, especially in mental cases, leastways Pythagoras and Xenocrates did. Hence the medical men who in the present war have applied "the logic of tones" in the cure of shell-shock have merely been dusting the cobwebs off an extremely old idea. Another war-use lies to the credit of an American teacher of aviation: for such a one told a recent writer in *Musical Canada* that owing to its development of the sense of rhythm, and of alertness to sounds, music was of distinct value in learning to fly! "And," he added, "I should not be surprised as a result of this war, to see the study of music made compulsory in our public schools because of its demonstrated value in many phases of military and patriotic matters."

Among prosaic purposes to which the most ethereal of arts has been put, none has been more widespread in time and place than that of signalling,—principally, though by no means, exclusively, in connection with warfare. Indeed of some instruments found in a band it would not be unfair to contend that they are signalling instruments of which a musical use has been made, rather than the reverse.

This is particularly the case with the bell : for if judged by the number of purposes to which it has been put, it might reasonably claim to be leader of the orchestra ! It has been used to draw people and animals together, as in the case of the church, school, house-door, and dinner-bell, and of the bell hung on the leading horse of a team, and on the bell-weather of a flock of sheep ; to invite people to prayer without necessarily drawing them together, of which the Sanctus bell and Passing-bell are examples ; to warn people of danger, physical and spiritual, as witness the fire-bell, the bell attached to a buoy at sea, and the "bell, book and candle" associated with excommunication. In this latter connection, mention may be made of the bell which St. Columba, in the sixth century, called "God's Vengeance," and used in the taking of oaths. The most oft-recurring use is certainly that which Father Time puts the bell to, for he makes it toll the hours day and night ; and this is often one of the most musical of signals, the "quarters" being indicated each by its own peculiar and complete phrase, and certain hours by a complete tune. It is not easy to determine the precise purpose of the little spherical bells attached to their spears by ancient British warriors, and to the leg of a hawk in more modern times, but they were presumably intended to terrify the hearer rather than give a friendly warning of coming danger !

In passing it may be pointed out that surely no other musical instrument differs as much in weight as do bells one with another. Assuming the little crotals tied to the leg of a hawk to weigh an ounce, and comparing them with the largest bell ever hung (not the largest ever cast, for this cracked) we find this last to be just one million, seven hundred and twenty thousand, three hundred and twenty times the weight of the lightest instrument of the same kind !

Much the same may be said of the trumpet and drum as of the bell. Asked what the former were, most of us would

very probably and quite naturally say “musical instruments.” And judged by present use, such they are. But if the character of an instrument is to be determined by its original purpose it would be more accurate to describe them as signalling instruments. The Parthians are said to have used small drums as a means of signalling, and the Greeks trumpets and flutes. The use of the latter instrument is noticeable as not being common for this purpose. The Hebrews used the *shophar*, a long horn turned up at the extremity, for arousing both political and religious enthusiasm, but the *chatzozerah*, a straight trumpet of silver, exclusively for sacred purposes. This latter, the trumpet, is interesting as being the only instrument still in common use among ourselves for which a divine origin has been claimed. The Greeks attributed the invention of the *cithar* to Apollo and the *lyre* to Hermes, just as the Egyptians attributed it to their god Thot ; and the Hindoos regarded the vina as a gift from Sarasvati, the benevolent and kind consort of Brahma. And similarly we read in the Hebrew Scriptures that the Lord spake unto Moses saying “ Make thee two trumpets of silver ; of a whole piece shalt thou make them.” One of these trumpets was to be blown to arouse the camps on the east and the other the camp on the south. And it is quite clear that different “calls,” as we should say, were in use for different purposes : “ When ye blow an alarm the . . . . camps shall take their journeys, but when the congregation is to be gathered together, ye shall blow but ye shall not sound an alarm.” (Numbers xx.) An exactly similar distinction may be cited as illustrating Tennyson’s accuracy in the choice of words : where the bugle is used as a means of awakening the echoes he says :—

“ *Blow, bugle, blow, set the wild echoes flying* ” ;  
but where the same instrument is to be used as a signal  
he uses the technically correct term—  
“ *Leave me here, and when you want me, sound upon the  
bugle-horn.* ”

The trumpet might well claim to be one of the aristocrats among instruments. For by the Jews it was confined to priests and heralds; and if we pass from Palestine a thousand years before Christ to Europe a thousand years after, we shall find that trumpets and kettle-drums were confined to princes and men of high degree, and not allowed to the populace or roving minstrels. As these princes and their men-at-arms were generally mounted, the trumpet came to be regarded as the signalling instrument for the cavalry, and the drum for the infantry, though later on the bugle was substituted in both arms of the service. The first known use of the trumpet for signalling in Europe was in 1214 at the battle of Bouvines, a town eight miles south-east of Lille, when Philip Augustus of France defeated the Emperor Otto IV. The French charge was signalled by a fanfare. The example spread widely, for contemporary chronicles record many similar instances. In these days of cheap copies and striving after publicity, it is worthy of note that up till the seventeenth century the music played by bands of trumpeters was learned by ear, and transmitted without notation as something of a secret nature. Before turning to consider other instruments, it may interest the reader to remind him that, if St. Paul's words may be taken literally, not only was the trumpet first used for signalling, but its last use on earth will be for the same purpose: "The trumpet shall sound, and the dead shall be raised incorruptible."

The determining factor in selecting instruments for the transmission of messages is naturally clearness and carrying power. We shall find therefore that such instruments are drawn from the wind-band, or are instruments of percussion. I cannot recall any string instrument being used for this purpose. Though it is much easier for us in the present day to associate the harp with worship than with war, this instrument, so suggestive of the heavenly choir, has been used in the most hellish

of earthly occupations, it has been carried if not to the cannon's mouth, at any rate to the arrow's point. One of the most historic cases was that of William the Conqueror's minstrel, Taillefer, at the battle of Hastings. He rode at the head of the Norman host inspiring them with his harping, then rushed into the fray and was slain. And probably the most recent case was in 1594, in Scotland, when the Earl of Argyle took with him to the battle of Strathaven not only drummers, trumpeters, and pipers, but his harper. I cannot find, however, that the harp was ever used for signalling purposes.

Rivalling the bell and trumpet in antiquity and universality as a musical semaphore is the drum. And it has an interest all its own, since for the highest development of its resources we must turn, not to the most civilised nations, but to the least,—one of those which we white folk too readily regard as "savages." For the most remarkable exemplification of the carrying power of the sound produced by a stretched membrane comes from the Dark Continent. The natives of South Africa signal by means of it over such immense distances that the claim has been made for them of having anticipated our discovery of wireless telegraphy! The big African drum is a fine instrument carrying ten miles. A tone code has been arranged, and neighbouring villages exchange news daily. This code is most elaborate and can fully express any desired meaning in a few days through half the continent. Ever since the British occupation of Africa it has been a mystery how news travelled half way up or down the continent long before authorities among the white population had received any information. The fall of Khartoum was known days before it was notified officially. The natives received the news by the drum telegraph!

The universality of the European use of the drum as a means of warning and summons is evidenced by one of our proverbial phrases: we satirize the very common and

irritating habit of drumming on the table with the fingers, as "the Devil's Tattoo," the tattoo having originally been always beaten on a drum.

By the way, the origin of the tattoo is itself sufficiently interesting to demand a stick-full of type. Tradition says it was begun during the thirty years' war, when it was instituted by General Wallenstein to put a stop to drinking bouts at night. The provost of the camp was to draw a chalk line across the bung of all beer barrels, interference with which mark was attended with severe penalties. Hence the German name for a tattoo, "Zapfenstreich," which simply means "bung-line." Some authorities think the word "tattoo" itself has a similar origin, being a corruption of tap-to, a signal for the tap-room to "put to" or close. Others attribute it to the method of playing the instrument on which this signal was originally given, the drum being played by being tapped,—hence the idiomatic phrase—"a tap of the drum." Such was the humble origin of the elaborate performance now known as a "Grand Tattoo" with which annual military manœuvres and tournaments generally end, and in which many bands and hundreds of instrumentalists are massed together!

Side-drums are used in the army for keeping time in marching, and for various calls: Drummers' Call; Sergeants and Corporals' Call; Commence firing; Cease firing. But in action bugles are substituted. In France, "La Retraite" is sounded every evening on the drum in garrison towns, and in Paris, where it is beaten by twenty-eight drummers, the effect of this purely rhythmic and non-melodic and fragment of ten short bars is peculiarly impressive. In an old ballad relating to the battle of Harlaw (1411) both trumpet and drum are mentioned under their modern names:—

"the armies met, the trumpet sounds,  
the dandring drums aloud did tout."

These two instruments, the trumpet and drum, are the only ones ever combined, so far as I am aware, in the sounding of a "call," though the simultaneous use of two or more instruments of the same kind on special occasions is not uncommon.

Other instruments than bells, trumpets, and drums, have been used for signalling, but not nearly to the same extent. The "Watch" sounded several times during the night by city guards in days of old may not unreasonably be included in a list of what we may call emblematic tone-formulas. And this brings the oboe into the catalogue of such instruments. For this member of the wind band, peculiarly shrill and rasping in its early forms, was a favourite one with town watchmen or "Waits" in the middle ages, especially in Great Britain. At Exeter, England, to name only one instance out of many, the town guards piped the watch on oboes in the year 1400 A. D. On the continent the chief instrument for this purpose during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, was the zinke or zincke, called by the French "cornet à Bouquin." It is one of the oldest instruments known, and consisted of a wooden tube, slightly conical, covered with leather and having six holes for the fingers and one for the thumb. Its compass was a chromatic scale slightly over two octaves. The tone was bright to shrillness, and very powerful. Zinkes enjoyed a great popularity, and were used for almost every purpose to which a musical instrument can be adapted. Among these was not only warning the lieges of the approach of an enemy, but giving an alarm of fire, on which account German citizens gave the instrument the ironical name of "Stadtkalb" or "Town-calf."

In probably every country horns have been used for signalling purposes both by military men, huntsmen and civilians generally. Horns of metal ("Buccina," "Cornu") were used by the Romans, Greeks, and other ancient nations. Large war-horns, improperly called trumpets,

were used by Norsemen. Interesting drawings of these are given by Du Chaillu in his *Viking Age*. Pytheas, a Greek navigator, who, about 350 B.C. sailed into the German ocean and was the first to do so, tells us that the Britons always carried horns about with them. Probably these were more or less for signalling purposes. The reader need hardly be reminded that in the fog-horn and the motor-horn we have an example of the use of this instrument for utilitarian purposes in the present day.

The Germans have not disdained to avail themselves of the piercing notes of the fife. Indeed use seems to have been not uncommonly made of a still humbler instrument,—the whistle, or “quhissill” to give it an old Scottish spelling. But it must be borne in mind that the term in olden times was used for the whole tribe of instruments of the flute-a-bec (“flute with a beak”) or flageolet type. It is somewhat strange that in the present day no such amplification of the term is necessary,—the whistle in its very simplest form is in constant use, as the most amateur of our volunteers knows. Amidst the roar of cannon no voice would be heard; orders are therefore given by manual sign, and a dog-whistle is blown by the officer to draw the men’s attention.

The bagpipes have been extensively used in war. An author named Stanihurst writing in 1584 describes the Irish as using the pipes “instead of the trumpet, but they have few drums;” M. Boullay le Gouz, half a century later said they used it “instead of fifes.” As fifes, trumpets, and drums were used for signalling purposes, it is probable that the pipes were too. Certainly they are in the present day. An extremely plaintive air “*Soldier lay down on your puckle straw*” played by the piper of a Scottish Highland regiment by way of “*Lights Out*” at the beginning of the war, within a stone’s throw of where these lines are being written, was one of the most beautiful outdoor musical effects the writer has ever heard. Unfortunately the pipes

were too often completely drowned by the blatant bugle of a neighbouring regiment; and the greater carrying power of the latter probably accounts for its largely superseding what is in many respects a superior instrument.

The shortest of musical signals is the single note G, which sounded on the bugle, means "Right," two G's meaning "Centre" and three, "Left." And the longest of British calls is the infantry "Reveille," which has five movements. Verbal messages, or calls, such as street cries, are often sung or intoned, owing to the greater carrying power of this method compared with spoken words. But as the meaning lies in the words, such tonal formulæ do not come within the province of this article. Reference may, however, be made to a certain use of the voice purely as an instrument. Two or more people will sometimes adopt a phrase of two or three notes as a means of identification, singing it to announce their whereabouts, and discover that of their friends. In such intonations the vowel "oo" is generally very prominent. The writer has known the following to be used.

Koo—woo—ee.      Koo—woo—ee.

To sum up, Jehan Tabourat in his valuable *Orchesographie*, 1588, says that the musical instruments used in war were "les buccines" (crooked horns used by the Roman Cavalry), et trumpettes, litues (crooked horns an octave higher than the buccina), et clerons (clarions, a small trumpet?), cors (horns), et cornets (not to be confused with the modern cornet-à-pistons, but an obsolete wind instrument with a cup mouthpiece and holes for the fingers), tibies (flutes, from "tibia," the shin-bone from which the Romans made their flutes), fifres (pipes or fifes), arigots (fifes), tambours (drums), et aultres semblables. He then goes on to say that all ten instruments are used to give signals and "advertisements" to the soldiers to dislodge, march, retire, and reconnoitre; and to impart hardihood and courage. A somewhat similar passage will be recalled

by those familiar with Rabelais, who describes the Andouille folk as attacking Pentagruel with joyous fifes and tambours, trumpets and clarions. Nevertheless, till the almost universal adoption of the bugle, which took place in the latter half of the eighteenth century, all other signalling instruments were subordinate to the trumpet and drum. Writing in 1622 Francis Markham declared that "It is to the voice of the Drum the Souldier should wholly attend, and not to the aire of the whistle."

The first musical signals which have been handed down to us in musical notation are to be found in Jannequin's remarkable composition, "La Bataille," descriptive of the battle of Marignan in 1515, and published at Antwerp thirty years later. The first collection of such signals is that included in the second Book of Mersenne's *De Instrumentis Harmonicis*, published in 1635. A similar work, but without musical notation, was published in London in 1622, by Francis Markham, quoted above and he refers to an earlier work by an author named Hindar, but of this no copy is known to exist. In Markham's list it is worthy of note that the names of the trumpet sounds point to an Italian origin, while those of the drum signals are as clearly English. Drums were used by Edward III. when he entered Calais in 1347, and do not appear to have been used in Italy before 1521. It is thought, however, that the more musical signals originated in the Peninsular Kingdom. The first known British instructions in regard to signals were issued in 1544.

Having outlined the use of musical instruments as a means of signalling in all parts of the globe and ages of the world among civilised peoples and savages, in the solemnity of worship, and the frenzy of war; on sea and land, and, indeed, by the very beasts of the field and birds of the air, this paper may not unfittingly close by referring to a humorous aspect of the subject. On the chief modern signalling instrument, the bugle, only three

notes, with the octaves of two of them, are obtainable. Of these three notes, therefore, all "calls" have to be made. Variety can be obtained only in their order and rhythm. Taking the British army as a type, there are in the cavalry no fewer than forty-three "Routine" and thirty-nine "Field" calls, 82 in all. No wonder, then, that soldiers whose lives are governed by these tonal formulæ from "Reveille" to "Lights Out" should have assisted memory and identification by fitting doggerel lines and verses to many of them. The earliest instance I can trace is the exclamation "the Guard it comes," which German soldiers sang to a military call as long ago as 1500 A.D. or thereabouts. Almost contemporary with this is the warning

Take heed, Boor, I come.  
Clear out jolly quick.

(16th cent.)

Somewhat later are the following :

To bed, to bed  
Bids soldiers' drum  
that morning may him early wake  
Not find him lying long in bed.

(Prussian tattoo.)

The Frenchmen have all our money stolen  
The Prussian will it again recapture.

(Prussian tattoo.)

Potatoe soup, Potatoe soup,  
And now and then a sheep's head.  
Meal, meal, meal.

(Horn signal.)

The British Tommies, if later in the field, have proved adepts at this fitting of words to music. Perhaps the best known instance is that of the Officers' Mess Call

Oh Officers' wives have pudding and pies,  
But soldiers' wives have skilly.



**In some regiments the following variation is in use :—**

Oh ! what a time these Officers have,—I'd like to have their dinner ! Must give me theirs and let them have mine : I bet they'll get much thinner ! They know it, you bet ! And don't you forget that wine and music's fine to digest, and help to season dinner.

One could not expect the opportunity afforded by the men's own "Rations" call to escape effective use:—

Go for the rations Ord'ly man,—Stale bread and meat with plenty of bone !

Satire, indeed, is a characteristic element, and is applied by the men to themselves, especially to "rookies" as recruits are called, as well as to the "powers that be." Here, for instance, are the words associated with the "Rouse" call.

Come, make a move ! and show a leg ! Why dilly-dally ?  
Now don't you hear ? Get out of bed, It's past Reveille !  
Get out, now sharp, for the day's begun !

Not much deliberation is necessary in selecting the most suitable call with which to close this article :—

## **Lights out !**

## CLEMENT ANTROBUS HARRIS

## THE STUDY OF FICTION.

BY THAKORELAL M. DESAI.

**I**N every age, in every society and in every sphere of life, there is always a Mrs. Grundy. There are old Mrs. Grundies and young Mrs. Grundies ; there are social Mrs. Grundies and literary Mrs. Grundies ; in fact, you could have a whole world of Mrs. Grundies if you chose to have it. The literary Mrs. Grundy is no less formidable a personage than the social one. I am particularly fond of all these Mrs. Grundies, because, with all their faults, it is they who keep the world in equilibrium, when we, her opponents, cannot keep it running for any particular period of time. Having thus given the devil her,—I beg your pardon, his—due, which, by the way, is sound morality and safe policy, we might ask this highly respectable lady (for she is nothing if not that) why, of all the things, fiction should have come under her ban. But we might as well ask the moon for a reply, as ask Mrs. Grundy for one. However, that is not her fault ; she is anything but what you call logical. She was never made that way. She is made up of 'flesh and blood,' you will say, but no, of 'likes and dislikes.' So we had better let her alone, as every sensible person does in the end.

We never committed a bigger mistake in the whole history of literature, than in giving so important a sphere of letters, that fateful name 'fiction.' It has taken half its value out of it. Why it should have been called 'fiction' when it is more real than the philosopher's 'Reality' with a capital R, is not an inquiry which we can take up at present. Unless we are prepared to brand our whole body of knowledge as fiction, there is neither any justice

nor meaning in calling this one particular branch fiction. It is as much a study of a particular aspect of life or more truly, of the whole of life from one particular point of view as any other science. True, it has its own method and differs considerably in this respect from other sciences. But this certainly is no reason why it should be called fiction. You might as well call a man, who chose to walk on all fours, an animal.

Every branch of study has its own little coterie of scholars. Fiction alone is to claim no such distinction. However erudite one may be in the world of fiction, he is never referred to as a scholar. This circumstance is partly responsible for the fact that very few people undertake a real scientific and systematic study of fiction, though so many read it. Worse than this, however, is the attitude of the scholars in all other branches of study to fiction. They deprecate it, in season and out, trying to run it down as something that means a mere waste of time and labour and fit for attention only from those who are too superficial for anything else. In the circumstances, therefore, it is not strange if only a few who care little for success and less for reputation, take to it seriously as a study.

The study of fiction is different from a mere reading of it as either an escape from the more serious engagements of life or a means for killing time. Even as a diversion or as a desperate remedy when time hangs heavy, there is nothing to be said against it. For in the first place you can always do worse than read a novel when tired or when there is nothing doing. And in the second there is nothing to be said against a person for the way in which he spends his holiday and seeks his pleasure, so long as he does not do any other person an injury. Because it is put to this use by so many persons, it is not justifiable that it should be confined to this alone. On the contrary, if you can make more out of fiction than this, it is necessary that you should do so. It is the task

of this paper to show how the study of fiction is and could be made more profitable than it is usually supposed.

Fiction, if properly encouraged, could be made one of the greatest educational agencies for the people. Even as it is, the unconscious influence of and the amount of information given by fiction to the reading public is tremendous. A majority of those who read, read fiction even if they read something else and a majority of those who read fiction, read very few other things except it. If only the attitude of this people to fiction is changed, if they are taught in the future to read fiction primarily only for the pleasure and the excitation of the moment or as something to do, when there is nothing handy, but secondarily at least for some scraps of information, for some new ideas, for some material for new thought and for some systematic view of the life that they are living, not to say anything of that which they might be living, it could achieve wonderful results. There is some truth in the argument that the great popularity of the novel is due to the fact that one can take it up, read it, have a pleasant hour or two and then forget all about it. But if the change suggested above could be gradually worked into the mind of the people, if they were brought more and more to recognise the fact that a novel is not only something that gives pleasure but also some instruction, without any additional trouble on the part of the reader, I do not think that people would be any the less fond of novels or drama than they are at present. They will read novels by scores and hundreds even then; only they will try to look for pleasure and something else too, if they can get them simultaneously. An average man, the man in the street, does not like long courses of study or being lectured to about anything that he is not immediately concerned with. But if he could learn these things without any irksome devotion or without any violation of his vanity, there is no reason to suppose that he is such a fool,

though only a man in the street as to reject the opportunity. The best thing about a novel is that it teaches one without any conscious or unconscious slur upon one's vanity.

In a big country like India, with its immense diversity of race, religion, common habits, language and politics, where innumerable artificial and natural barriers exist between man and man, a more effective means for the spread of common culture and common sympathy than popularising the study of fiction cannot be imagined. Travelling, on any large scale, even within the country, to be effective, is not to be thought of. Most of the people are too poor for it. Even now, in the nineteenth year of the twentieth century, old men, who have never crossed the line that divides their district from the adjoining one, why, even those who have not so much as crossed the boundary line that encircles their little village, are not rare. For any familiarity with the life that other people in the country are living, the right sort of fiction is the cheapest and the most popular agency that could be made use of. Without this acquaintance, a common bond of sympathy is impossible. Newspapers cannot bring this about for two reasons. They are not yet so cheap as to find their way into every household, and their style, the absence of continuity in the many topics that they deal with and their more or less prevalent party note are most likely to defeat this object.

An average man, who, as a rule, has to give most of his time to the one absorbing and life-long purpose of earning his scanty bread, cannot be expected to go out of his way to get information about things and ideas that do not affect his immediate interests or to reflect upon the state even of his every-day life. It is a luxury which he cannot afford. It is not surprising then that he is all that he is generally described to be. We are all familiar with the complaint of so many men that a majority of the middle class and all the working class people in India are too narrow minded, too incapable of getting out of

themselves and entering the lines of others, too bigoted, though in a passive and not aggressive way and with too little imagination for anything really national and all the rest of it. To a certain degree every intelligent Indian feels the truth of this home thrust and is alive to his responsibility of bringing about a better state of affairs if he can see his way to it. The immenseness of the task, however, disappoints him and his pious desires do not give rise to any effective action. The popularising of fiction, of course of the right sort, will go a great way towards lifting the individual out of his narrow surroundings, his narrow physical limitations, the baneful influences of the Middle Ages and will endow him with more imagination, which is the greatest mental relief that can be thought of for a cramped soul.

To hope for an India united by a common bond of sympathy and culture, to hope to make a real nation even out of these diverse materials is not an impossible task. In addition to the other agencies that are being employed by the patriotic men of the country if an extensive use be made of the common human fondness for a story and also of the stage, the task will be accomplished all the sooner. Of course, it has got to be seen that these two and very powerful agencies of human culture should not remain in the abject and almost demoralising state they are in at present. Better men must undertake to write popular fiction and popular plays and better men must undertake to act on the stage. Once this is done, which, of course, can be only very gradually done, this very diversity will be more a source of strength and richness to the nation than its weakness as at present. The one strong point in favour of fiction being thus utilised is that it can be used for instruction in any subject, except the highly technical ones.

Fiction could be made to serve even a better end than nationalism. This, if carried too far or immoderately and

morbidly developed, is likely to be just as much a narrowing and demoralising influence as any other. Germany has proved it conclusively to the world. It has got to be balanced by internationalism or cosmopolitanism. Nay, it has got to be transcended for this higher goal of the unity of nations and peoples. Nationalism is a stage and only a temporary stage in the evolution of the human race, the highest ideal for which is the brotherhood of men. Fiction will serve as a great check to the evil influences of intense nationalism and will also help us to that better state when the time comes for it. Just as it will take an individual out of himself and his narrow surroundings, bring him face to face with the life of the people of the country and make him take his part in it, it will take him out of the bonds of nationalism and bring him to the consciousness of the life of the countless other human beings. He will naturally think of himself as a part of this vast and extensive phenomenon of life, of which even his whole nation is only a part. I very strongly believe that for this ideal of the citizenship of the world for the individuals and nations,—which though brought into prominence by the World War, was in men's minds long before that,—an extensive interchange of the fiction of the nations, is to a certain degree responsible. Perhaps its influence might not have been as great or as powerful as that of religion, commerce, foreign travel, science, socialistic movement, and several other things.

Apart from this there is another way in which the study of fiction could be made more fruitful. There are so many men in the ranks of the educated people, who are generally more intelligent than they are supposed to be. They are quite capable of a serious study of philosophy, religion, politics, economics, history or any other subject that wants a continued application. They are either too idle to undertake it or their interest in any of these branches of study is not yet sufficiently excited. They

are, however, not too idle to read and study fiction. If these people could be encouraged and induced to read fiction, with a little discrimination in its choice and little more care in its study, I am sure their interest in any of these subjects, for which they are capable, will be augmented. If you could pick up the right book, you will find excellent politics or economics, why, even excellent philosophy or religion for the matter of that, even in a novel which is very often supposed to be innocent of all these things. Once a person begins to be interested in the subject and some familiarity with the preliminary ideas of the subject is established through the novel, it is more probable than not that he will take seriously to the study of it. One may very well imagine what an amount of waste of human ability could thus be avoided.

In the social life of to-day, for any intelligent and effective participation in it, it is becoming more and more necessary that one should be acquainted with the general ideas and terms of almost all branches of study and should be proficient in one. Even scholars find it difficult, in spite of their reputation, to take an active part in the social life of people round them, if they have totally neglected the branches of study other than their own. They find that their intellectual depth is futile, if unaccompanied by breadth, when they undertake to make themselves useful to the people or even to enliven the flagging conversation in the drawing room. When George Meredith says, or to be more accurate, makes one of his characters say emphatically that a drawing room approval of a man is the best certificate for his general chances in life, he is not very far from truth, egoist though he be. This general acquaintance with a dozen or more subjects can very easily be made from the study of fiction, without any very great waste of time or energy. All the equipment of some socially successful people whom I know, has been a judicious selection of the novels and a careful perusal of the same.

There are many more minor benefits that might result from the study of fiction. It is not within the scope of this paper, however, to recount them all here. There is one possible misunderstanding which I may clear away before concluding. When it is said that fiction is a good preliminary ground for the study of other more serious subjects or that it might impart the little working information about many walks of life, it is not at all meant that this is its only use or even its main use. No one could be more emphatic than I am in holding that if fiction is to be studied, it should be studied just for itself, because it is a branch of letters and not because of any secondary advantages we derive from it. The function of fiction is to give expression to, interpret and criticise life. When it gives expression to life, it is life not in the abstract but in the sense in which we know it, feel it and live it. This expression has a peculiar warmth and intimacy which no other science of life has. Besides it succeeds where everything else fails, except poetry. The many undescribable tricks of our being, our most subtle and most evanescent emotions, thoughts, acts of will and a thousand other individual mental peculiarities, that evade all sciences, are all confined by the master in fiction in one happy stroke of pen. From the otherwise most undiscernible shades of form and colour of life to the minutest details of its rich variety nothing is missed out. When it is the work of a true genius it is all sculpture, painting, music, poetry and all humanistic sciences put into one. It is for all this that any real study of fiction, as distinguished from merely reading it, should be undertaken.

No disrespect to scholarship in or the dignity of any other sciences and branches of study is here meant. This is no attempt to belittle the importance of any other department of knowledge. What is insisted upon is that there should be no belittling of fiction. All must have a place assigned in the realm of scholarship. For those

who do not aim at scholarship, fiction has an advantage, inasmuch as, in its best form, all that it gives is living, in its proper setting and with a background that sets every element in it into proper relief. The other sciences, though supplying the same information or even more and that in a more systematic form, work under the disadvantage that all is cut and dried, without a setting and without a background, dissociated from all that is living and that appeals to life. For the ordinary man, therefore, fiction could be the best medium of education.

Before all the advantages stated above, from the study of fiction could come, it should, in the first place, be restored to its just and proper place in the scheme of study. The scholars should cease to undervalue its importance, to run it down and to deride it. As I have shown, they might themselves benefit by it, if they only chose to be more human, because one must be human, essentially human, to appreciate fiction and profit by it. Moreover, it must be recognised as a subject for study and scholarship just as much as any other. It must find more prominent place in the University courses for degrees, and special chairs for fiction should be established in universities and colleges. It should be made easily available for all by making it very cheap. More than all this, however, it should be made in future the work for the highest literary geniuses.

T. M. DESAI.

*Baroda.*

## THE NEGLECTED SCIENCE.

BY P. LEO FAULKNER, F.R.G.S., I.P.

*"Geography is the Foundation of all Historical Knowledge."*

BUT a few months ago Sir Harcourt Butler proposed to found a chair of Geography and to allot the necessary funds for the purpose. His initiative, however, met with no appreciation either from the Indian or the English public. A leading Calcutta newspaper even went so far as to ridicule the project and plainly stated that the money to be spent on the science of Geography could be used to much greater advantage in a hundred other ways. This aspect of the matter is one that prevailed in England until a very few years ago. The great European War has, however, been a strict master, and the one lesson it has taught with unceasing regularity is that to win battles a knowledge of Geography is essential. Nowadays when a battle extends over a front of many miles and artillery are used which project missiles a distance of several leagues it is indispensable that the staffs concerned should have in their possession maps and charts to shew the contour of the land, the roads and ravines, the buildings and the rivers. And it follows that the army which is better equipped in this direction enters the contest at a great advantage. It is not generally known that since 1915 the Royal Geographical Society has placed at the disposal of Government their staff and resources, and it is difficult to realise adequately the extent to which they have assisted the army in bringing the war to a successful conclusion. •

Gallipoli had never been properly charted by the English. The Germans, however, with their wonderful foresight had not failed to prepare a map of this little peninsula, and the General despatched to assist the Turks

in the defence of the heights was no other than the one who had some years previously drawn the map which was to be of such great assistance to our enemies. Geography has for long been held in honour by the Germans. It is only in England that the science without which the study of a country's history is impossible, has been so consistently and unreasonably neglected.

It is an undeniable fact that the countries of the world are being reconstructed. Each day the morning newspaper contains information of altered boundaries and of colonies transferred. Is it then too much to hope that the importance of Geography will now be grasped by those in high places and that action will be taken to ensure that the subject is intelligently taught in schools? In India the state of affairs is even more deplorable than it is in England. In the course of my duties I have the pleasure of seeing many High English Schools in the mofussil. In not five per cent. is Geography to be found in the curriculum at all. Apparently it is not a favoured subject with students, as it leads nowhere. It is useless as a medium for obtaining marks once the coveted matriculation certificate has been obtained. No one has ever yet been able to explain to me how History can be learnt without Geography, but that matters not in the least. A young man of 19 who had passed his matriculation in the first division recently informed me that Timbuktu was in Persia. When I suggested to him that his knowledge of Geography appeared to be restricted, he smiled pleasantly and opined that that subject merited but little attention as it was of no assistance in the Intermediate Arts Examination. It is indeed strange that the Education authorities do not at least insist that the children of Bengal should be taught the elementary facts of their country's position and commerce, pursuits and products.

In the past Geography has been disliked by teacher and student alike. Why? The answer is simple and short.

Because neither understood what the word Geography really signifies. To know the names of all the towns on the east coast of Scotland in proper order from north to south may indeed be an excellent memory practice, but it is not useful knowledge in connection with Geography. What is the use of knowing the exact height of Kinchinjunga and Popocatapel? These are admittedly facts of some little interest, but they do not constitute knowledge. Even if the brain of a child be loaded with two thousand items of such a nature it does not mean he has attained to a knowledge of Geography. I fear the number in England who realise the importance of the Gulf Stream to the Mother Country and those in India who could lucidly explain the theory of the "Monsoons" would form a very small percentage of the population.

Before the opening of the Suez Canal the journey to India from England was one of considerable length and danger. Until 1600 (approximately) the Venetian merchants were the chief trade carriers. Their ships used to take freight at Venice and then cross to Alexandria or Beyrut. There they were met by caravans bringing silks and spices from India. They had probably come across Egypt from Suez whither the articles had been transported by ship from Bombay. There was also a caravan route from Basra to Bagdad and thence *via* Damascus or Aleppo. The mention of these famous places brings to mind the recent Mesopotamian campaign and to the geographer suggests the vast possibilities of the future. It is by no means improbable that within the life of the present generation Calcutta will be in direct railway communication with London. It appears that the Channel Tunnel is a settled fact and that the work will be begun as soon as Peace is definitely settled. Then there is the famous Orient Express from Paris to Constantinople which the Germans extended as far as Bagdad. Thence to Basra and along the shore of the Persian Gulf and lo! India is brought within a seven days' journey of London.

It is not generally known that the Himalayas are 1,500 miles long, 120 miles broad and on the average about three miles high. This range is a natural barrier which keeps out enemies and cold winds and prevents trade with those who live beyond. The Himalayas are thus equivalent to several large armies, for on the northern frontier a hostile invader's chance of success is infinitesimal. The mountain ranges on the north-west frontier, however, contain several comparatively low passes and they have time after time been used by invaders from Central and South-Western Asia. In 200 B.C. (approximately) large numbers of aboriginal tribes came into India through the openings on the Baluchistan border. Three hundred years later the Kushans made their appearance on the scene and founded an empire in Northern India. Next, India fell a prey to hordes of Persians and a little later to the followers of Mahomet who were intent on converting the whole of Asia to the tenets of their Prophet. These few instances will suffice to demonstrate the far-reaching effects of the geographical features of the north-west frontier on the history of the country.

It has been indicated that India has century after century been the object of successive invaders. The question thus arises as to why she should have had so many suitors for her hand. And here too Geography furnishes the answer. Between the mountains in the north and the Deccan plateau in the south is a vast depression filled with fertile soil which has been brought down by the rivers which spring from the mountains. The land is watered by numerous streams and it shares with the black lands of China and the delta lands of Bengal the honour of being the most productive and densely populated portion of the earth's surface. The Indo-Gangetic plain has invariably been a source of temptation to others less favourably situated, and it has recently been stated on high authority that one of the reasons which prompted the Amir to

proceed with the foolish invasion of British territory was his desire to acquire the wealth of the area in question.

Why is India an agricultural country? About two-thirds of the people depend entirely upon agriculture, and a quarter of the total revenue is obtained from the taxation of land. To begin with, owing to the hot climate, nature has ordained that the people should be vegetarians. Again, a large number of the inhabitants are by their religious customs prohibited from eating meat. Food crops must therefore be cultivated otherwise what will happen to the 350,000,000 who comprise the population?

As the growing of indigo has decreased owing to the use of chemical dyes obtained from coal tar, the cultivation of jute has increased. Indigo was practically restricted to Behar and certain districts of Bengal where the soil and rainfall were suitable. Jute on the other hand can be grown in the delta of the Ganges and Brahmaputra rivers. In no other country in the world does it thrive, not even in Florida and elsewhere where the Americans were hopeful of opening out an industry which would have made the jute companies in Bengal far less paying concerns.

The coal on the Raniganj coalfield is of a fairly good quality, and since its discovery the importance of Calcutta has increased tremendously. Moreover, it is fortunate that iron was found in the Raniganj area, otherwise the cost of smelting would be prohibitive. As a matter of fact iron deposits occur in several districts, but they are useless as a commercial proposition owing to the fact that suitable coal is not available in the immediate vicinity and that limestone which is required as a flux in smelting the ore is not to be found.

The few instances which I have quoted at random will thus show how Geography enters into matters of every-day importance. A nation's history and a nation's wealth are primarily dependent upon a country's geographical features. Why then should the teaching of this obviously important

subject fail to appeal to the Education authorities? When a Lieutenant-Governor who realises only too well the pitiable state of a system by which a child is not instructed in the Geography of his own province, not to say of his own country, makes a suggestion to put the science on a proper footing, why should it be cast aside with scorn? Is it not preferable that a boy should be learning the importance of commerce and climate than committing to memory whole scenes of "The Tempest" or "Romeo and Juliet"? The English Universities have at last understood the importance of Geography. Why then should not a beginning at least be made in the schools of India?

In conclusion I will make a short quotation from a lecture delivered some years ago by the Rev. Frank Burrows with whose views no rational person could possibly quarrel:—"Do not let any of us deny himself or others—above all the children—the Light and Air, which shine and breathe in perfection in the many branches of that most fascinating subject—Geography—for it comprehends the whole of Earth and Sea, and in a sense of Sky. What nobler study could there be than that which is dedicated to the consideration of the work of the Ruler of all things?

"It is not a question of dull lists of names nor of statistics. It is only the faithful and honest study of the conditions defined on facts of geology. Sometimes they are interfered with by the passion and fret of mankind, but whatever the cause, the geographer records—and the inexorable facts are his reason and excuse—the truth, for which we are deeply grateful, and by knowing his facts are truly, what we all wish to be, scholars of the School of God."

P. LEO. FAULKNER.

*Khulna.*

## REVIEWS OF BOOKS.

**PANTHEISM AND THE VALUE OF LIFE.**—By  
W. S. Urquhart, D. Phil., Scottish Churches College.  
(The Epworth Press.) 12s. 6d. net

Dr. Urquhart's work entitled "Pantheism and the Value of Life, with special reference to Indian Philosophy" represents a slightly condensed form of a thesis originally presented to and accepted by the University of Aberdeen for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, and is a well-printed book of more than 700 pages. We always look with confidence to the Scottish Universities, and not least to Aberdeen, for hard clear thinking on the great problems of Religion and Philosophy, and those who read the present work will not be disappointed.

The subject chosen by Dr. Urquhart was one that needed adequate and scholarly treatment. Perhaps nothing strikes the reflective new-comer to India who has opportunities of coming into touch with the modes of thought, characteristic of the people of India, educated and uneducated, so much as the essentially pantheistic way in which all religious rites, symbols and precepts, and ultimately all personal and moral problems are regarded. A European student has always associated pantheistic modes of thought with the meditations of the learned few. On coming to India he is positively startled to find that the rude uncultivated peasant, even when devoted to the crudest forms of worship, interprets everything ultimately in a pantheistic way. We agree with Dr. Urquhart when he says that the following picture given by Mr. R. C. Bose is not overdrawn: "Pantheism in other lands is the monopoly of a few. In India, however, it is co-extensive with social or national life, being held both by the learned and the ignorant, the rich and the poor, the high and the low. Pantheism of a thoroughly spiritual type is preached and advocated, not only in temples of piety, but in places of public resort, in streets and thoroughfares, not only in the seclusion of cloisters and cells, but amid the din and bustle of hives of industry and marts of commerce." Herein

there can be no doubt is a fundamental difference in the mentality of Europe and India. The average European is theistic, and too often deistic in his outlook. All this must have a big effect one way or the other on our estimate of the value of life in its varied phases and forms. Dr. Urquhart does not underestimate the difficulty that Western thinkers have in interpreting the significance of Indian conceptions in their relation to life. "The differences between the two points of view are important and must not be forgotten. They render our task difficult but not impossible, for after all, there is a unity in all human thinking deeper than differences of race and period." Dr. Urquhart has brought a thoroughly sympathetic yet withal a critical mind to the consideration of things Indian. There is no trace of that racial antipathy and blind prejudice too often common in works of this character. We should like to see a critical review of the typical European point of view and its bearing on life written in an equally unprejudiced and impartial way by an Indian scholar. It is good whether we are Indians or Europeans to see ourselves as others see us, and we trust on this account that Dr. Urquhart's book will have many Indian readers.

The plan of the book may be briefly indicated. The first fifty pages are introductory. The fascination of pantheism is recognised and accounted for, and the meaning of pantheism in its two phases—Optimism and Pessimism—carefully defined. In dealing with naturalistic pantheism and the superficial optimism it begets, he touches the right spot when he says: "Least of all need we trouble ourselves to remove the pain and the evil. All will come right in the process of the ages, and we need not worry." All will recognise that this type of thought is dangerously common in India, and does infinite harm in retarding Indian progress. The heart of the work is contained in Book I, covering some 450 pages. It is devoted to an historical inquiry into the effects which pantheism has had upon the appreciation of life values in India. There are in all seventeen chapters in this section, and various aspects of Indian pantheistic thought from the Rigveda to Sir Rabindranath Tagore are thoughtfully dealt with. Some twenty-five pages, for instance, are devoted to a discussion of the pantheistic spirit of the Gita in its moral and religious aspects. The author agrees with most scholars in rejecting Lorinsers's (not Lorinsen as printed) view that there has been extensive

borrowing, and accepts the view of Garbe that the core of the poem is theistic. He considers, however, that the influence of the theistic teaching has been greatly hampered by the presence of philosophic elements of a pantheistic character. "We are willing to lose our life in order to find a higher life, but when the higher turns out to be mere emptiness, the ideal becomes ineffective practically, however much theoretical admiration may be bestowed upon it."

The philosophy of Sir Rabindranath is sympathetically dealt with. "He draws a clear distinction between good and evil, and finds a truly religious basis for morality. He preserves for time and for eternity the value of the individual and finds an explanation of human freedom in the conception of the self-limitation of God. But his pantheism still prevents him from sounding the depths of the problem of sin, from realising all that is involved in this gift of freedom, and from becoming clearly conscious of the central need of the human soul." Book II, consisting of some sixty pages, is a review of the effect of pantheism in the West upon our sense of the value of life, and is valuable as relating the Eastern and Western points of view. Book III, consisting of 150 pages, is devoted to recapitulation and generalisation. What Dr. Urquhart emphasises again and again is the need of conserving the worth of each individual. This is supremely the contribution that Christianity can make to the life and thought of India.

We heartily commend this work of Dr. Urquhart's to Indian and European students alike. We need to learn of one another, and understand better one another's standpoint. "Pantheism and the Value of Life" will render no small service in that direction.

G. H.

**EARLY INDIAN THOUGHT.**—By Dorothea Jane Stephen. (Cambridge University Press.)

For those who wish a brief and readable account of Indian thought this is a book to be warmly recommended. It extends only to five chapters dealing respectively with the Divine Nature in the Rigveda and the Upanishads, with Human Nature in the Upanishads, with the Bhagavadgita, and with India and other nations. The method is for the most part that of quotation and exposition,

supplemented with brief comments designed to bring out the significance of the points dealt with. The book makes no claim to be fully comprehensive but for those whose object is to obtain a general but accurate knowledge of the central conceptions which underlie all Indian thought, nothing could be more suitable than this. Its only fault is that sometimes its conciseness leaves a point obscure.

Although criticism is not her main object, the authoress succeeds, nevertheless, in making her account of Indian thought an estimate of its value. She does so by showing that it has never been able to live up to its own abstract ideals. As contrasted with the Western emphasis of personality and practice, the emphasis has been laid in India on the incomprehensibility of the divine and on the life of detachment as the ideal of human perfection. It is possible, she admits, that the practical side of religion has tended in the West to obscure the intellectual and emotional aspects, and so far it is good that the East should question the West as to its foundations. But it is only a challenge that the East can give, and the force of it is weakened, not increased, by the study of the history. Again and again the reality of personality and activity force themselves upon the Indian thinker in spite of his logic and reveal the inadequacy of the principles that exclude them. The tragedy of it all is that in the earliest hymns the mind of India appears, in its conception of Varuna, a personal god, the source of moral law, to have been set in the truer direction. But almost at once the relative significance of conscience seems to have become less; attention was turned to physical order and to the incomprehensible something that lies beyond it all. "Before they had well begun the search after truth they came to the end and realised that we cannot have absolute knowledge." And the reason for this, the authoress suggests, is simply that they had left the true path. "We never do know anything except by faith. . . . Our most certain knowledge, in the end all our knowledge, comes through our affections."

The two chapters dealing with the Upanishads are an excellent compendium of their contents, admirably arranged. They bring out the profundity of much of the thought but reveal also the crude naturalism that mingles with it and the feebleness of spirit which enters into compromise with many of the practices which are at the same time described

as folly and darkness. "These teachers are rationalists," it is said, "but they are not Protestants. They make no effort against the doctrine that they disbelieve; on the contrary it is to be carefully preserved, and no one is to go on or can go on to the higher knowledge till he has fulfilled all the requirements of the lower." In the same spirit they deal with moral activities for which their higher knowledge has no place, and this is rightly regarded in these chapters not as a solution but as the tacit acknowledgment of failure. The higher knowledge is not the development of the lower but its contradiction. "To state them both and leave them lying side by side does not reconcile them."

The Gita, again, is a conscious effort to justify both sides of this contradiction—the practical life of sacrifices and personal activities and the abstract intellectual ideal of the Upanishads. The author feels the necessity of carrying on life somehow; he fails to find any ground for this necessity in the unknowable background of being which he conceives of as ultimately supreme, but nevertheless he clings to this also. The result is that "the teaching of the Gita falls into two parts, each dealing with a certain view of life and the two views being contradictory." The conception of Krishna—devoid as it is of adequate historical basis, and incapable of being derived from that ultimate which is "neither being nor not-being"—is but an illogical concession to the ineradicable demand of the human spirit for a God who may be known and loved.

Everywhere there is, then, a revelation of the truth that mere argument cannot be trusted to lead to the truth. The result of the argument which neglects life is always upset by life itself. It ends in failure both moral and intellectual, and the clear suggestion is that it is just in giving value to the factor of personality that there may be found the key of the riddle which has proved insoluble by the method which neglects it. "The teachers of India refused this line of thought in the early days, when they turned from Varuna to Indra; they refused it again, in the time of the Upanishads, when they looked for revelation by knowledge only; and again when the writer of the Gita gave to his country a revelation founded on fancy and they were willing to accept it." "Thought may yet learn a lesson from life that shall end, not in failure, but in hope."

THE BOOK OF THE CAVE.—By Sri Ananda Acharya.  
(Macmillan and Co.)

It is difficult to write an allegory of spiritual pilgrimage or experience, and it cannot be said that this book has altogether surmounted the difficulty. There are some beautiful descriptive and some striking imaginative passages. The spirits of the air and the ocean and the earth undertake a pilgrimage to the Cave-dweller who reveals to them mysteries of the self and ultimate Reality. The result is a medley of poetry and philosophy, dreamlike intuition and abstract reasoning. The main tendency is poetical and imaginative, but philosophy is always breaking in, and it is not always a very cheerful philosophy. The spirit of the air is apt to lose himself in abstractions and the ocean-wanderer does not always steer clear of materialism. The latter part of the book is largely under the influence of theosophical ideas which determine the form of the visions of the other world. It must be allowed, however, that these visions are much more attractive in the imaginative guise which they assume in this fantasy than in the quasi-scientific and dogmatic shape in which they are usually presented.

CHRISTOPHER AND COLUMBUS.—By the Author  
of "Elizabeth and her German Garden." (Macmillan's  
Empire Library.)

We take up a novel by "Elizabeth" expecting to be entertained and carried along lightly and racily; and in "Christopher and Columbus" we are not disappointed. The author has lost none of her vivacity. In this story she uses brilliantly her talent for making fun of solemn and conventional people. German pomposities, formerly her favourite butt, have given place to British complacence and prejudice, personified in Uncle Arthur who, "didn't like foreigners and said so. He never had liked them, and had always said so," and who "had always supposed the *Faery Queen* and *Adonais* and *In Memoriam*, names he had heard at intervals during his life, for he was fifty and such things do sometimes get mentioned, were well-known racehorses." Against such complacence, and against American sentimentality and priggishness she fires her darts of playful cynicism. At times there is a touch of

bitterness in her mockery, but it is saved by her spontaneous and refreshing gaiety.

The story, although almost farcical in its improbability, touches on certain wartime features with a satire that is truthful and well-deserved, chief of them being the spy mania in England and America. The heroines, who adopt the name of the first discoverer of America and divide it between them, are twin sisters, just on the point of growing up, and daughters of an English mother and German father of the Junker class, but leaning to the side of the beloved mother and strongly pro-ally in sentiment. This, however, does not avail to protect them from popular distrust. They have become orphans and have been left in the care of an English aunt and her husband. "Uncle Arthur" is the villain of the story, and, like the uncle in "The Babes in the Wood," never rests until he has got rid of his embarrassing charges whom he ships off to America—still a neutral country.

The twins are innocent, confiding, high-spirited, and very amusing in a way that makes American primness open its eyes. The hero who comes to the rescue, Mr. Twist, is a millionaire, thanks to his invention of "the non-trickler teapot." He is a charming character reminiscent in more than name of some of Dickens' simple-minded heroes.

The failure of the American guardians to whom the twins are being sent, to materialise, is the occasion of many ludicrous situations. One of these is a clever skit on the facile divorce which is supposed to be characteristic of certain sections of American Society. Twist, not altogether against his inclinations, is saddled with the responsibility of the irresponsible twins who unwittingly lead him through many adventures to the verge of tragedy. It requires a *deus ex machina* to change the situation into comedy by opening the hero's eyes to the simple fact that he is in love with Anna Rose, the older of the twins and that he can save the situation by changing her into an American. The steps leading to this happy ending are exciting and laughable and the whole story provides a new contribution of that merriment which we have learned to look for from "Elizabeth." In one or two instances one is slightly offended by a certain flippancy which detracts from, rather than adds to, the fine atmosphere of delicate satire. But these are few and should be regarded as negligible by readers grateful for some hours' delightful amusement.

**LITTLE HOUSES.**—By George Woden. (Messrs. Methuen and Co.)

There is distinction and restraint in the writing of this new novelist. The title of the story gives the keynote to the characters and situations that go to make up the quietly-moving drama. There is little plot, and little excitement, and to begin with the reader imagines that a chronicle of tameness is all the story provides. But the faithful, delicate drawing of character gradually and irresistibly enchain one's interest in the group of ordinary people in an ordinary provincial English town in the end of the nineteenth century. It is the feelings and experiences of hundreds of typical English people of the "respectable" working-class that are revealed in the family group of the Alldays and their circle. Every character is true to life and loveable, as ordinary people are loveable, for their little ways of kindness and their little failings. John Allday is all but a hero; but he hesitates and is lost. Sam Bloom, more heroic in mould, is passionate only in fitful gusts. Passion is never sufficiently long sustained to carry him to victory. There is no finality about the characters just because they are human and because decision is so much rarer than indecision. Mr. Woden has shown his power in the drawing of Maggie Wheatly, insignificant as to class, personality and history, but drawn with an exquisite and tender truthfulness. The indeterminate facial and mental traits of her girlhood are knit and strengthened by her own lot of commonplace suffering into a winsome beauty and nobility. Into her hands falls the fate of others and from passive suffering she rises to active sacrifice of her own chance of happiness on their behalf. Entering insignificantly on the stage, to play apparently a minor part, she leaves it with a gesture of lofty heroism, and we recognise that the colour and beauty of the scenes have come from her.

In his minute pictures of nature in her homeliest aspects, the writer shows unmistakably the insight of the poet. These gently tinted scenes of summer or winter in a quiet countryside are a fitting background for the human events that pass across them.

Religious and social questions are touched on here and there, and the very clearness and firmness with which one is made to feel the problems of the time are more effective in rousing thought than any laboured attempt at solution. One is left with the impression that character is the only solution, for after all it alone can conquer circumstance.

THE HOME AND THE WORLD.—By Sir Rabindra-nath Tagore. (Macmillan & Co.)

This has been described as the first novel (as distinct from a collection of stories) published in English by Sir Rabindra-nath Tagore. The description is not correct: this is not a novel, but a series of character sketches. The characters are types rather than individuals, though in some aspects they are properly alive and gain the admiration or dislike which is obviously expected of us in each case.

There are three characters in the story who are articulate, *i.e.*, tell their own story. They tell it not continuously, but in sections and it is not quite obvious sometimes, why the sections should begin and end where they do. The period of the story is during the *Swadeshi* agitation of a few years ago, and the scene is the country house of a zemindar. Nikhil is the hero of the story—if there is a hero. At least it is clearly the author's intention that we should sympathise most with Nikhil, and it is altogether healthy that this should be so. For Nikhil is the type of the sensible nationalist who works earnestly and practically for the industrial development of his district and the improvement of the conditions of his tenants. He is not carried away by sentimental enthusiasms, nor is he willing to tyrannise over others even for the sake of the *Swadeshi* movement. He is willing to live and let live and is guided by reason rather than by feeling. Sandip is the contrasting character,—the type of the frothy demagogue, a man without understanding of the true needs of his country, a second-hand Nietzsche and an advance copy of a Bolshevik. Unfortunately he gains great influence over students and schoolboys, and moves them even to crime. This passionate intensity also attracts Bimala, the wife of Nikhil, and for the time being she is swept away in the current of Sandip's devotion, and finds her husband's nature somewhat cold and unimaginative. But in the end everything comes right. The better elements in Bimala's nature assert themselves, Sandip's enterprises fail and he himself is repentant, not however before his demagogic vapourings have had tragic effect in the case of one of his schoolboy disciples. Therein lies the moral—or one of the morals of the book—that the shouting of *Bande Mataram* will not save the country and that wordy enthusiasm without action may lead to irretrievable disaster. The novel is also the work

of a poet who is not forgetful of the claims of artistic beauty, who gives us many passages of rare charm, and in the creation of Bimala has added another to the attractive personalities of fiction. The translation of the book into English has been made by Mr. Surendranath Tagore and revised by the author.

## PERIODICALS.

### THE QUARTERLY REVIEW.—April 1919.

The two most important articles in this number are of a philosophical character. Mr. Bernard Bosanquet writes learnedly though a little obscurely on the "Philosophy of Benedetto Croce." He gives an excellent summary of the Italian philosopher's teaching, and the distinction which he makes between the "useful" and the "utilitarian" is very much to the point. Miss Evelyn Underhill has an exceedingly illuminating article on Plotinus—that somewhat neglected philosopher whose popularity has recently been increased—or, rather whose unpopularity has recently been diminished—through the devoted labours of Mr. Stephen McKenna and Dean Inge. Miss Underhill is thoroughly at home in her subject and brings out clearly the union of the mystic and the philosopher in the work of Plotinus. The exposition of his system is one of the best we know, and her argument regarding the width of his influence in the development of Christian theology will carry a good deal of conviction. Mr. Albert Ryanson writes on "Problems of the New Palestine," and he is on the whole optimistic. He does not think that the problems of the custody of the holy places will present much difficulty, and he considers that the land, if properly cultivated, is quite capable of supporting a considerable number of returning Zionists. An unexpectedly cheerful article on the "Psychology of an Internment Camp" gives us an interesting account of life at Rubleben, and incidentally the mentality at the back of German brutality is analysed. This brutality, according to the writer of the article, is partly due to the elements of grossness which are inherent in human nature as such and partly to the fact that German culture has been intellectual only and not spiritual, and has, therefore, provided instruments for the development of brutal instincts instead of suppressing them. Mr. Bertram Clayton reviews a little sarcastically in "Utopia's Unlimited" certain recent

writings on social reconstruction, his central theme being that "the barrier shutting off the rich from the poor is not more actual and distinct than that dividing the workers from those who only write about work." He however commends Miss M. D. Petre for her reminder that human nature amongst the working classes is no more perfect than it is amongst the rich, that a change of heart is necessary for any reconstruction, and that "material poverty has no essential connection with poverty of spirit."

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#### THE LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW.—April 1919.

The leading article in this number, entitled "A Great Mystic" by W. T. Davison, outlines the teaching of Plotinus and his place in history. The writer regards it as remarkable that such a teacher has had to wait so long for an adequate exponent in English and commends highly the Gifford lectures on Plotinus by Dean Inge. "The Curse of India", by James Lewis, is a frank discussion of the difficulty which the existence of caste places in the way of political reform. He says that "Young India needs calling to account for its non-discussion of the position it holds on the question of caste, and on the mode in which it proposes to deal with anything in the shape of real representation in government of the rights of the out-castes of India." "Caste tyranny, caste indifference to the outcaste, caste exclusiveness, these shackle India, prevent India from rising to her great calling among the nations. Young India will have to grapple with it." "The Eternal Question: in the light of Modern Science" by Frank Ballard, discusses the bearing of Spiritualistic research on the evidence for immortality and maintains that it has accomplished something of value. "Our advance in knowledge throws more widely open than heretofore the door of permission to accept and appreciate all those other than scientific reasons for hope beyond the grave which come along the lines of Christian theism." An article on "Africa in the World Settlement" by St. Nihal Singh states conclusively the case against the Germans ever being allowed again to be responsible for African peoples, and favours the mandate being to an international board rather than to any individual nation. Other articles of interest are on "Mark Rutherford's Scrap Books" by George Jackson and on "Philosophical Influences in Modern English Literature" by James Lindsay.

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**INDIAN NATIONALITY.**

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**IV.**

FROM the short account of caste given previously, it will, I think, be clear that caste is practically an instinct of Hindu life. The tendency to divide and subdivide has as yet proved stronger than any movement of religious and social reform. Brahmoism, Christianity and Mahomedanism have all to some extent given way to caste. New movements proclaiming the equality of men have in time turned on their founders and rent them, the victory always coming to caste. English education has affected, but not uprooted, it. Railway travelling, where all castes, touchable or untouchable, must mix, has shorn it, at least for travellers, of some of its traditional scruples. In many other ways it has given up its outward ceremonialism, but in the essential matter of marriage it reigns supreme. The power of social ostracism compels all Hindus, whatever their professed theories of caste, to bow before its rules. To be turned out of caste means far more to a Hindu than social degradation does to an Englishman. An Englishman who offends the social standards of etiquette or good breeding may still go to the same barber, the same church and meetings, and the

laundry will not refuse his washing. To be outcasted in Hindu society is to be boycotted in every way. The priest will not attend the outcaste, else he himself will suffer ; the washerman will not accept his clothes or rupees ; the barber will not shave him ; his personal servants will leave him ; his daughter will not find a husband : all these and many more evils ensue if an individual is thrown out of his caste. It is not surprising, therefore, that the most "advanced" Hindus look upon transgression of caste rules, even though they consider such transgression to be in the higher interests of the moral law or humanity, with considerable temerity.

It will also be gathered from what I have said that the ideas of Indian nationality and caste are largely mutually exclusive. One implies separation : the other consolidation. Caste in itself is the closest union in history, but unfortunately it co-exists with so many divisions that it is impossible to look forward to a time when India will know only one caste, *viz.*, Indians. And not only has Hinduism to heal its own divisions, but it has to fuse with Mahommedanism, Christianity and the other religions of India.

Sir John Seeley considered Brahmanism the germ out of which might possibly develop an Indian nationality ; but even from the Hindu point of view alone, it would be more feasible to imagine the development of one of the national castes, especially the Marathas into an Indian caste. If the Marathas had spread their tentacles all over India and forced other castes and religions to organise on a national basis they might have succeeded in unifying India. As it is, they are localised in one part of India, and have themselves become entangled in the caste net. To regard either a caste or a group of castes as likely to unify India, therefore, is chimerical. The only possible solution to the national problem is for caste to adapt itself to the new idea, and caste has already proved so flexible in other matters

that it does not seem too much to hope that it will also adapt itself to nationality.

Nationality is a new idea to Hinduism. Mahomedanism is national. Hinduism is not national or is only national in the embryonic stage. It has barriers to surmount which do not exist in Mahomedanism and these barriers it must surmount before it reaches the political completeness of Mahomedanism. The problem of Hindu nationalism is therefore distinct from either Indian nationalism or Mahomedan nationalism. Before Indian nationality is possible, the possibility of Hindu fusion must exist in order to place it on the same political plane as Mahomedanism. Though both Christians and Mussulmans have succumbed to certain caste influences, caste is not inherent in their social systems as it is in the Hindu, and the central teaching of each of these religions is diametrically opposed to it. It may be presumed therefore that if the Hindu house sets itself in order to suit the newcomer, nationality, it will not be difficult for the other communities to admit one who to them is by no means a stranger.

The conception of nationality in Hinduism has been borrowed from the west. The Hindu (Sanskritic) languages of India have no word even to correspond to our nationality. The word that is used (*jati*) is really the equivalent of genus, as the Sanskritic phrase "manushya *jati*," the genus man. The influence of western political thought has widened the meaning of "jati" so that we have now phrases like "Hindu *jati*," for Hindu nationality, or "Bharatiya *jati*" for Indian nationality. But nationality is not indigenous to Hinduism: it is imported.

Why, it may be asked, is not nationality a natural evolution in Hindu political life? The reason seems to be that either the idea did not develop in Hinduism or that it was repugnant to Hinduism. In my analysis of caste origins and development I have pointed out that though there are many universal elements in the social evolution of

Hinduism, there are other elements belonging to Hinduism alone. In the absence of these particular elements it may reasonably be supposed that the political evolution of Hinduism might have followed the recognised lines of the Aryan west. But these characteristic elements filled the Hindu social system with so many rigid compartments, so many caste rules and reservations, that they completely checked the development of the Hindu peoples into a homogeneous nationality. They placed a full stop on the evolution of Hindu political society, and this full stop is only now being changed into a semi-colon when there is every chance of the west making a big step forward from nationalism to inter-nationalism.

It must be remembered that India for centuries developed a civilisation of her own without any appreciable influences from outside. Endowed by nature with remarkable geographical unity, India for centuries was cut off from the west. The only doors open to India from the west were the Indian Ocean and the inhospitable mountains of the north-west. By both these ways, it is true, certain influences found a way into India. Traders from Africa and Arabia and Mussulman invaders from the north-west came and went. It was not till the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries that the Indians really began to feel what the west meant. Historically the two most important events in bringing new ideas to India were the great Moghul Empire and the advent of the East India Company. With the break-up of the Moghul Empire, the East India Company assumed command, but it was only in the last century that the Company and its successor, the British Government, took upon itself to educate India. With that education came the political idea of nationality, an idea which, even in the west, is a nineteenth century product.

During the many centuries of its existence Hinduism, which under other conditions might have been fluid,

solidified. To this solidification many factors—climate, the physical and mental character of the people, the “facile comprehensiveness” of the doctrine propounded by the religious teachers, the supremacy of the religious teachers and the ignorance of the masses—contributed. What we are concerned with here, however, is the present, not the past. The past interests us only so far as it provides lessons for the present or future. That the past does provide hopeful object lessons I have already to some extent shown. The origin of caste shows us caste as a universal element in society, and the development of castes has shown us the flexibility of caste when called on to meet new conditions. From the origin of caste, its growth and the circumstances surrounding them we may reasonably look on caste as an arrested political development. The Hindu political synthesis stopped at race and is now only finding an exit therefrom. Race, one of the chief bases of caste, was a problem in India unparalleled in history, and it was solved in a peculiar way. With the intervention of other causes, caste, the solution to the racial problem, went far beyond its intention. Its method of evolution shut out the development parallel to that of the western. But with the influence of the west that evolution *mutatis mutandis* may yet run its course.

I have spoken, as every one else who has studied caste has spoken, of the rigidity of the caste system, of its aristocratic nature and of its apparent injustice. To attempt to join the democratic idea of nationality with the system which of all systems in the world seems the negation of liberty, equality and fraternity, may seem to many a hopeless task. To my mind nevertheless, the idea of nationality within Hinduism does not seem impossible. It may, of course, be retorted that as a non-Hindu I cannot appreciate the strength of Hindu bonds, but I can at least describe, and, as far as I can, draw deductions from what seem obvious enough characteristics of Hinduism. To brace up

my own weakness, I shall reinforce my conclusions with the opinions of those who ought to know the subjects of which they speak.

The first line of argument I have already dwelt upon. By a comparison of parallel social and political institutions it may reasonably be concluded that the Hindu social system is an arrested form of political development. By an analysis of Hindu society as it is, one can detect, in spite of an extraordinary rigidity of structure, a certain fluidity and flexibility. The very conditions underlying the formation of certain caste-types, such as the migratory, occupational and those formed by change of custom, show that caste rests on a fairly fluid basis. Once formed, it is true, the caste tends to be inexorable ; but that it can be formed at all shows the possibility of change and adaptability to new conditions. Nationality is a new idea bringing new conditions. May not Hinduism be sufficiently receptive to accept a new idea and accommodate itself to the conditions which the new idea demands ?

Such receptivity does not really necessitate the abolition of caste for the attainment of nationality. It implies only the *adaptation* of caste to nationality. In other words those elements of caste which are antagonistic to the new idea must disappear. Their disappearance therefore will depend on the battle between these elements and nationality. Which will be stronger ? Caste, which though it has existed thousands of years, has had continually to modify itself to suit new conditions ? Or nationality, which in the space of half a century has so completely upset the traditions of the country that it is now on the verge of Responsible Democracy ?

That the flexibility of Hinduism is not confined merely to the process of caste formation may be seen at a glance at Hindu law. Hindu law is founded on a number of codes, the best known of which is the code of Manu. It is partly a legal, partly a religious system of law. Whatever be the

date or whoever the writers of the Hindu codes of law, they all belong to an early stage of society. Thus in the laws of Manu there are no laws regulating the ownership of land or conflicts between individual members of a family. But the laws of Manu, ancient and honoured though they be, have not placed any barrier in the way of legal advance. They made room for custom, and the Brahmans, the Hindu interpreters of law, made full use of custom and interpretation to make the law fit new conditions. The Brahmans formally altered the law by writing commentaries on the older codes and in these commentaries they engrafted new customs on the old rules. The authority of these commentaries as law depended, as in other legal systems, upon the learning of the writers ; but once accepted they were sources of new law, made by the Brahmans themselves, even although the Brahmans in making their new laws bewailed the disappearance of the old customs and the arrival of the new. With the advent of the British *Raj* the influence of custom continued and with scientific organisation of a judicial system, custom has been largely supplemented by judicial decision or precedent. Hindu law, therefore, has accommodated itself to new conditions by allowing both custom and precedent to act as law-givers. Sir William Markby, who, in addition to being Reader in Indian Law at Oxford, was for many years a Judge in the Calcutta High Court, in his *Elements of Law*, brings this out in these words :—

“ The British courts in India and especially the European Judges have been accused by some of paying too much, and by others of paying too little, attention to the commentators. As a matter of fact the courts in India have innovated very largely and it is not a little remarkable that modern Hindus who will not tolerate any interference with their law by a legislature have always accepted with deference the decisions of our tribunals even when they have been counter to popular feeling. This is

especially so with the decisions of the Privy Council, but all the British courts have from the first been liked and respected."

The same authority compares the progressiveness of the Hindu law with the unprogressiveness of the Moslem law. The Moslem law, founded on the Koran, deals more with the ordinary facts of life than do the Hindu codes. The Koran, moreover, does not admit of any modification of its precepts. In certain particulars, it is true, such as in the matter of money lending, modification has taken place, but on the whole "Mahomedan Law seems to have become so unprogressive that it is impossible for a nation to advance under it."

Another line of argument is the evidence of the power of liberal thought in Hindu society itself. In all societies advance is preceded by the asking of questions. In the early stages of political development much was done by the simple word *why*. When leaders in a community or the community itself begin to ask questions about its existence, its laws, and its institutions, the basis of advance is laid. Where institutions seem unreasonable, unjust, or out-of-date, the liberal thought of a community tries to alter them. Liberalism has always to fight and beat conservatism or re-action. There is always a considerable body of thought which considers that what was good for our fathers is also good for us, and, therefore, that we should leave things as they are. In modern Hinduism it needs little demonstration to show how these forces are working. On the one hand there are the Brahmos who have rejected Hinduism but who wish both in name in fact to identify themselves with the interests of India. On the other hand there are the conservative *pandits* and Brahmans who have much to lose in the break-up of the old system. In Hinduism itself apart from Brahmoism there is a vast body of liberal opinion which recognises the necessity for reform in Hindu society but at the same time does not wish to destroy the

essentials of Hinduism. The liberal thought of Hinduism appears in many ways in periodicals, speeches, proposed laws (such as Mr. Patel's Bill to legalise intercaste marriages) and organisations.

For an account of the organisations for reform I again commend the reader to Dr. J. N. Farquhar's *Modern Religious Movements in India*. Apart from such anti-caste movements as the Brahmo Samaj and Prarthana Samaj it is particularly noticeable that the Arya Samaj, the most vigorous of all pro-Hindu movements, violently opposes caste. Numerous other purely Hindu organisations also denounce caste.

One of the most pronounced movements in modern Hinduism, Dr. Farquhar calls Religious Nationalism, a movement which practically coincides in time with the present century (Dr. Farquhar dates it from 1895, the year of the commemoration of Sivaji, the Maratha, from which so many disastrous results followed). This nationalism has taken many forms. In one form it was seen in anarchism, the theoretical basis of which was that Hindu civilisation in all its branches is superior to either the British or Mahomedan and that therefore it is the duty of Hindus to extirpate the foreigner. In another form it was seen in the *swadeshi* movement which demanded Indian products for Indians and the exclusion of foreign manufactures.

Another manifestation of Hindu nationalism was the organisation of Reform Societies in Hinduism itself. Notable in their propaganda was the new attitude adopted towards the outcastes. The late Mr. Gokhale, one of the best type of Hindu nationalists, expressed that attitude in these words :—

“ I think all fair minded persons will have to admit that it is absolutely monstrous that a class of human beings with bodies similar to our own, with brains that can think and hearts that can feel, should be perpetually condemned to a low life of utter wretchedness, servitude and mental and moral degradation and that permanent barriers should

be placed on their way so that it should be impossible for them even to overcome them and improve their lot. This is deeply revolting to our sense of justice. I believe one has only to put oneself mentally into their places to realise how grievous this injustice is. We may touch a cat, we may touch a dog, we may touch any other animal, but the touch of these human beings is pollution . . . . . Moreover, is it, I may ask, consistent with our own self-respect that these men should be kept out of our houses and shut out from all social intercourse as long as they remain within the pale of Hinduism, whereas the moment they put on a coat and a hat and a pair of trousers and call themselves Christians we are prepared to shake hands with them and look upon them as quite respectable? No sensible man will say that this is a satisfactory state of things."

Mr. Gokhale was a man of action as well as a thinker. The Servants of India Society, the headquarters of which are at Poona, was established by him to carry out social and religious work in India. The society is open to all religions. Its one object is service to India as a whole. The Arya Samaj and many other organisations made social reform an important "plank" on their "platform." The demand for universal education is another common element in the new nationalism, and it is frequently accompanied by practical efforts, shown in the collecting of funds and founding of schools and colleges.

In fine art, music and poetry Hindu nationalism has also found an outlet. In art the national movement was headed by Mr. E. B. Havell, the Principal of the Government School of Art in Calcutta. Aided by Mr. Abanindranath Tagore he founded a school of Indian painters in Calcutta, which has certainly added to the world-store of art. Considerable advance has also been made in Indian music.

In literature there has been a very marked revival. In one form it is shown in the intensive studies of modern

**Indian literature.** In Bengal the University of Calcutta has just established a full post-graduate course in Bengali language and literature, and there are many workers in the field. Supreme among modern Bengali litterateurs of course is Sir Rabindranath Tagore, who has had the unique distinction of receiving the Nobel prize for literature. Sir Rabindranath is not only a litterateur, he is a practical educationalist with very individual ideas. His school at Bolpore, in Bengal, where about two hundred boys are educated, combines modern education with the best religious teaching of Hinduism. In his poetry, especially in the *Gitanjali* Sir Rabindranath breathes that pure modern spirit of Hinduism which cannot but raise the highest hopes for the culture on which it is based even among its detractors. To his *Nationalism* I shall have occasion to refer later.

Though in its extreme form Hindu Nationalism has led to many disastrous occurrences, detestable alike to Europeans and the best minded Hindus, it is capable of much positive good. In its best aspects we see it in social service and social reform, art and literature and it is in such a form that the movement gives definite evidence of the ability of Hinduism to rise to the heights which new political forms will demand. In recent years the cry "Back to Hinduism" has not meant return to the old *dolce far niente*; it has meant the extraction from Hinduism of powers latent in it but hitherto dormant. It is the demand for Hinduism to stand on its own legs, the demand to action and positive service. The wonderful results that have already shewn themselves in the very short period of active Hindu nationalism leads one to hope that with the attainment of a self-reliant manhood Hinduism may have many more good things to give. The new political aroma of responsibility in government may further permeate the temple and lead to new ideal and action. There is much to be hoped for in the balanced development of a religious and social system which has produced the Tagores.

One aspect of Hindu religious nationalism indeed is less hopeful. Several of the recent Hindu religious reformers have allowed their love for and faith in Hinduism to overstep the limits of tolerance. Arising in many cases from an antipathy to Western civilisation and the Christian religion these movements have developed into a blind praise of Hindu civilisation and at the same time a vicious denunciation of everything non-Hindu. Thus Ramkrishna and Vivekananda, his disciple, though holding that all religions are good and everyone should stick to his own religion proceeded to denounce everything Western in favour of Hinduism. The founder of the Arya Samaj likewise, though he preached Hindu reform, also preached the necessity of the extirpation of both Mahommedanism and Christianity. The results of this lack of balance are too fresh in the minds of modern observers of India to need recapitulation. The preaching of a pan-Hindu India could only have one result and that result modern Indian (as distinct from Hindu or Moslem) politicians are only now becoming able to deal with. The result was to awaken the forces of a pan-Islamic movement.

Religious rivalry of this character is the supreme danger in Indian nationality. In a previous article I pointed to the possible solution of this danger ; a danger which is vital and which no reasonable person can overlook. The Hindu revival, it is true, rejoices at present in the full flush and vigour of youth. The mellowness of years may soften down its intolerance. Beside it in India lie the smouldering fires of an aggressive faith, fires which may be fanned by the cyclonic enthusiasm of its neighbour. With the watchful British Government to prevent undue exuberance on the part of either there may be room enough in India for two revivals, but a clash of nationalism in religion inevitably will put back the clock of national unity. It would take a very long period indeed for the antagonistic faiths to draw sufficiently into the shell of toleration to let the new basis of

common rights join what they dissevered. But it may be assumed that the good sense of both political and religious leaders will prevent such a storm.

Still another line of argument may be derived from the movements among castes themselves. Learning the truth of the maxim that unity is strength the various castes are organising themselves as castes. The first of the caste organisation was the Kayasth organisation, which held its first conference in 1887. Many similar organisations, from the Brahmins to the lowest castes, have been started since. The objects of such organisations are to defend caste privileges, to settle caste questions, and to encourage Hinduism as a religious faith. Quite frequently the castes present memorials to the Government on special points concerning their privileges. A very important part of their work is social reform. Many Hindus look on the caste conferences with horror, regarding them as merely stereotyping differences which should be allowed to lapse. A glance at the resolutions of caste conferences shows that the castes take up their attention with matters such as the age of marriage, marriage expenses and funeral expenses. Most of the conferences pass resolutions supporting universal education and female education.

The lower castes in particular are extremely keen on bettering their social position. The Bengal Namasudras, a very low caste, meet regularly in conferences and are trying with considerable success to elevate their position. Recently I heard of the Namasudras in the village declaring themselves practically the equals of the Brahmins and, moreover, they decided to take various steps to let the Brahmins know it. The Bengal Baruis have formed a company with ten-rupee shares and a full organisation to spread education and improve the social position of the caste. The Mahars of Bombay, as told by Dr. Farquhar, met in November 1910 in conference and memorialised Lord Crewe, then Secretary of State for India, for the

return of certain privileges that their fathers in the Indian army had enjoyed before them. The memorial is a very significant one as coming from "untouchables," and I quote certain passages from it (I take them from Dr. Farquhar's book) :—

"As British subjects we cannot, we should not submit to ordinances which are entirely foreign to British ideas of public justice and public honour. We are sick of the bondage which the barbarism of Hindu customs imposes upon us ; we long to enjoy the perfect freedom which the British nation and the British Government desire to offer impartially to all those who are connected with them as British subjects.

"We would, therefore, earnestly appeal to the Imperial Government to move on our behalf. We have long submitted to the Jagannath of caste ; we have for ages been crushed under its ponderous wheels. But we can now no longer submit to the tyranny.

"Our Hindu rulers did not recognise our manhood and treated us worse than their cattle ; and shall not that Nation which emancipated the Negro at infinite self-sacrifice and enlightened and elevated the poorer people of its own commonwealth condescend to give us a helping hand ?

"The kindly touch of the Christian religion elevates the Mahar at once and for ever socially as well as politically and shall not the magic power of British law and British justice produce the same effect upon us even as followers of our own ancestral faith ?"

No words of mine could show more clearly how new ideas of right are superseding the old usages of Hinduism.

It is important to mention these democratic tendencies in order to remind us that nationality is a handmaid of democracy. Hinduism, an essentially aristocratic social system, is, according to the pronouncement of policy in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, to co-exist with a fairly advanced form of democratic government. It has been

pointed out by more than one writer, for example Sir Henry Cotton in his *New India* and the late Mr. A. M. T. Jackson (quoted by Risley), that caste is perfectly consistent with a monarchical or aristocratic form of government. Sir Henry Cotton, in sketching a future political organisation for India, pictures a number of small monarchical governed states with a smaller body of "patrician aristocracy" between them and the common people. Internal order would be secured by a patriciate accustomed to control and leading, presumably the direct descendants of the Brahmans. The late Mr. Jackson shows the connexion between caste and kingship in the old Hindu political system. The king, uniting legislative, executive and judicial functions was at the head. He was assisted by an advisory council chosen from the leading castes. In the community each function was carried out by a separate caste and the king had to enforce the caste rules. Government was likewise a caste function, a fact which reacted on the community in two ways. First, as the art of government was a matter of caste, only one caste was interested in government. Public spirit thus had little chance of developing. Secondly, the caste, being very specialised, had to be efficient, otherwise the social structure would have fallen to pieces.

Commenting on this, Risley remarks that the monarchy was able to guard against tyranny by castes. He might have given the example of Ballal Sen, who actually regrouped the castes, and was supreme over even the Brahmans. But, says Risley, can democracy safeguard the community against tyranny? He thinks that party government in India will be by castes, and that the caste party system will have the finest party organisation in the world. "Caucuses", "bosses", and so forth are ready to hand in caste, and voting would be controlled by the perpetual fear of caste penalties.

Had Risley seen even ten years more of the working of the Councils of Lords Morley and Minto he would have seen

that what he feared was completely illusory. Caste is not the mainspring of the Indian party system as it is, nor is it likely to be in the Indian party system that will be. That caste does influence certain forms of government is seen in municipal government, where caste compulsion is sometimes exercised on municipal commissioners. Over-zealous commissioners in a municipality sometimes find it difficult to get the services of a barber or washerman.

These various caste movements are democratic. Even the highest castes, whether intentionally or not, are democratic, for they all insist on education, and education is the sledge-hammer of democracy. Education has become almost a fetish in India. Few meetings can dismiss without presenting a memorial to Government advocating the extension of education in some form or other. With the extension of education as in other countries will come democratic ideas and the disinterested resolutions of the Brahmans are all the more laudable, for surely, if perhaps slowly, they are cutting the grounds of privilege from under their feet.

Caste organisations are important from two points of view, first as indicating tendencies to reform, and, secondly, in adopting recognised political methods of organisation. In themselves caste organisations are no more inimical to national fusion than are trade unions—perhaps they are even less so. The organisations are simply an example of the adaptability of Hinduism. They are new forms of social organisations started to meet new political and social conditions.

An important point to note in the caste system in Hindu society is that caste is *necessary*. At present caste is the cement of the Indian social structure. To abolish it by a ukase would mean the complete disintegration of Hindu society. It is a habit of reformers both Indian and foreign to denounce caste as an unrestricted evil. No one, even the devoutest Hindu, would deny that caste is vitiated by many evils, but it is as well to remember that

for Hindu society caste is necessary and so far is good. To uproot an institution which is almost an instinct would shake Hindu society to its very foundations. As a social system it is stronger than either religion or sect. Even so reformers who would never dream of upsetting the religion of Hinduism speak glibly of eradicating the "poison" or "cancer" of caste. But caste is the basis of Hindu society. It fixes social precedence, the rules of marriage, of eating, of drinking or worship, of a hundred other things, and, last but not of least importance it is the primary unit of government in India. The caste *panchayat* is the most fundamental form of representative government in India and that caste *panchayat* combines in itself the legislative, judicial and executive functions of government. It lays down the laws of caste : it pronounces judgment in cases where the law is broken—and it carries out its severely deterrent judgments with no uncertainty. The caste *panchayat* is one of the completest organs of government that exists and as the fundamental organ in Hindu society must continue till its purpose is served by other forms of government.

A full account of the various types of caste government is given by Mr. O'Malley in the 1911 Census Report for Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. Only a few points in that description concern me here. Under the East India Company there was a Caste Cutcherry, which heard and decided caste cases. The Governor appointed the President ~~and~~ it will be remembered that one of the points brought by Burke against Warren Hastings was his appointment of the *teli*, Cantoo Babu (Krishtokanto Das) as President of the Cutcherry. Though the Caste Cutcherry was abolished long ago, many of the Feudatory Chiefs of Orissa still adjudicate in caste matters. Those Chiefs even have the power to outcaste Brahmans. In the organisations of individual castes often the local Rajah or the Chief Zemindar is President, with final powers of appeal.

In British territory the government takes no direct part in caste affairs. It affects caste in two ways indirectly, first, by means of judicial decision or precedents laid down in the courts, and, secondly, by means of the ordinary organisations of government. Thus if the caste is able to convict a man of theft in the *panchayat* the culprit may be handed over to the police, or punished by the caste. In dealing with the various matters concerning caste rules the *panchayats* frequently encroach on the jurisdiction of the criminal and civil courts ; in fact Mr. O'Malley quotes several cases in which the caste has actually forced complainants to the civil authorities to withdraw their complaints and settle the matter by the caste council. Nevertheless the courts are appealed to in many cases particularly those—(1) where the caste council itself hands the matter up to the magistrate ; (2) where the caste council cannot enforce its decisions and it has to appeal to the magistrate ; (3) where the magistrate's court is regarded as a court of appeal against the *panchayat* ; (4) where a caste member may refuse to acknowledge the jurisdiction of the caste council and proceed against them. Sometimes *panchayats* prefer to place the responsibility of deciding difficult cases on the magistrate's shoulders and do not even collect evidence for a caste trial. Sometimes also they are frightened that the accused may prosecute them, especially where corporeal punishment has been inflicted. It is also a source of comfort to *panchayats* to know that if they frame a proper charge and can prove it the magistrate will punish a recalcitrant caste man who refuses to obey caste law. Even though this may lead to false charges, the heroic justice of an accused being punished for *something* appeals to the caste.

Another point to be noticed in caste government is the tendency among the higher and better educated castes to confine themselves to purely social matters. Thus in Bengal the caste meetings of Brahmins and Kayasthas are almost entirely confined to the discussion of sea voyages

and the eating of forbidden food, intermarriage between sub-castes, widow marriage and immorality on the part of females. Matters which fall within the domain of criminal law are left to the civil authorities concerned.

The evidence from caste government is similar to that deduced from caste organisations. The caste *panchayats*, *sabhas* or *samitis*, whatever they may be called, are tending as education advances to take up their attention with purely social matters. In civil and criminal affairs they are looking over the hedge of caste to the greater government beyond. A new basis of government is replacing the old basis, and this new basis is *political* government, not *social* government. As local self-government develops, the caste member will look still more to new organisations to help him in his time of trouble. Even now he appeals not to the caste *panchayat*, but to the magistrate or police. This is definite enough proof of the gradual change in the meaning of the word community. Hindu citizenship is essentially of the family or caste. The intensity of that citizenship is well known and it is a universal law of human association that the intensity of civic feeling varies in inverse ratio to the size of the community. Except at times of great national danger family feeling, the feeling centred in the smallest group is most intense and the intensity of feeling lessens as the group grows wider. The same is true of Hinduism. Hitherto family and caste have dominated the Hindu's civic feeling ; but now we find him going beyond his home and caste to the wider community abroad ; nor need his wider view destroy his mere intimate affections.

In connexion with both language and religion I have pointed out the peculiar position occupied by the British *Raj*. It is the neutral holder of the balances. The same is true in the case of caste. The Government of India is non-religious : it is also casteless. In the quotation from the Bombay *Mahars*' memorial there is an excellent index of how a caste appeals from its own society to the neutral

tribunal. Not only caste conferences, but the various social reform conferences, present their memorial to Government, trusting that the benign *Raj* will give due consideration to their claims. All this is clear evidence of the supersession of mere caste rule or Hindu social rule by the rule of the State. It is either explicitly or implicitly the recognition of an organisation based on the common purposes of India, an organisation whose duty it is to give an impartial ear to everyone and to deal out impartial laws for the common good. Moreover, it is the recognition of rights as the basis of civil society, not caste rights, but rights in a community which has millions of others similarly demanding rights. It is the appreciation of a new basis of rights outside of and distinct from caste: it is the instinct of a true political society.

We may pursue still more lines of evidence. The diffusion of education in modern India has left the traditional caste grooves. Education is not confined to the priestly and other high castes. It is spreading to the very lowest; and among the higher castes the extent of education does not vary directly with the social precedence of the castes. The educational results of the last Census revealed:—

“In Southern India the Brahman leads the way, but elsewhere this is not so. In Bengal he is surpassed by the Baidya, Subarnabanik and Agarwal; in the United Provinces by the Kayastha, Agarwal and Sayid; in Bihar and Orissa by the same communities and the Karan; and in the Punjab by the Khatri, Agarwal and Arora. The castes that compete with him most closely are either writer castes like the Kayastha and Karan, or trading castes such as Agarwal and Khatri. As a rule the high castes stand at the top and the low castes at the bottom but a great deal depends on their occupation. The Rajput, or warrior caste, often has a smaller proportion of literate persons than many communities of much lower social status; while low castes such as Teli, Shaha, Kalywar and Pod often take a much

higher position than would be expected from their social rank. In some cases this has been because they have adopted trade as their means of livelihood for which a knowledge of reading and writing is almost essential. In others it is accounted for by a recent rise in their material position which has not yet had time to affect their social status.

The statement that the diffusion of education tends to vary with the social precedence of the different castes must be qualified by the remark that it refers only to a given locality. Low castes in advanced provinces often have a larger proportion of literate persons than high castes in backward ones; many Sudra and even lower castes in Bengal have a larger proportion of literate persons than the Brahmans of the Punjab or the United Provinces. It is also worthy of note that some of the depressed castes are now making rapid progress. A notable instance of this is furnished by the Paraiyans of Madras who have now nearly three times the proportion of the literate persons that they had only ten years ago."

These are the results of education of all kinds. In English education there is considerable diffusion, though in this case it is confined mainly to the higher castes. In the higher castes in Bengal nearly two-fifths of the Baidya males and one-fifth of the Brahman and Kayastha males are literate in English. The most remarkable thing about the figures of English education is that the proportion of English-knowing persons all over India increased by 50 per cent. in ten years and the rate of increase is as marked for females as it is for males. Since the last Census Report the advance has been even more rapid, a fact which the next Census will assuredly show.

In the 1911 Census a very interesting analysis was made of the castes of Government servants. In Bengal, Bihar and Orissa of 2,305 gazetted appointments held by Indians, four-fifths are held by Hindus and one-fifth by Mahomedans

and of the 1,523 held by Hindus about eight-ninths were held by Brahmans, Kayasthas and Baidyas. In the United Provinces of 420 appointments the Mahomedans held 150, Jains and Christians 23. Of the 348 held by Hindus 91 were held by Brahmans, 81 by Kayasthas and the rest by other high castes. In the Central Provinces Brahmans, though they form only 3 per cent. of the population, held more than half the posts occupied by Hindus.

These figures show several things. In the first place they show the great adaptability of the Brahman caste. The Brahmans, the hereditary expounders of the Hindu law and scriptures, by caste priests, have readily accommodated themselves to the new conditions of government. They are a very highly educated caste in English education, whatever their education in the Hindu law and scripture may be. It may fairly be said that they uphold that reputation for cleverness which is given to them by the theorists on the origin of caste. The figures also show much diffusion of education among the other castes, and the remarkable strides that English education is making. Everyone engaged in education in India is familiar with the fact that nowadays only one type of education is appreciated by all Indians, and that is English education. In Bengal vernacular education is rapidly dying simply because of the lack of demand. No Bengali parent will send his son to a vernacular school where an English school is accessible. Demands have even been made for the teaching of English as a regular rule in primary schools. The importance of this English education of course from our present point of view is that English is the vehicle of Western political ideas.

Another line of argument may be derived from what may be called general sociological laws. Hindu society must in time respond to the usual influences which affect men in society. The factors which enter into the formation of the individual psychological state of man by their

collective action may be summed up, in the words of Professor Sergi, of Rome, thus :—

Hereditary characteristics, physical and psychological which appear as instincts.

Suggestion in all its forms, proceeding from family and social life.

Imitation, or the tendency to imitate unconsciously deeds and actions of the social community.

Educability and tendency to be moved by human influence. Gregarious tendency or a tendency to follow the paths traced by others in social conduct and to obey.

Sociability, a characteristic developed very early in man.

It is needless for me to enlarge on these factors. By implication with what I have already said they have worked and are working in Hindu society. Hindu society as a whole for centuries showed great resistance to change, a resistance which in many respects has given way. Since the impact of Western civilisation on Hindu civilisation the time has been so short relatively to the age of Hindu civilisation that one hesitates to form a final judgment. With things as they are, however, it is difficult not to conclude that the tendencies so obvious in the higher classes will filter down to the lower, and that the adaptability of Hinduism in the past will repeat itself in the future.

Were I to continue giving examples of the malleability of Hinduism I could give numerous instances of the breakdown of the anti-national elements in Hinduism. In particular it would be easy to trace the connexion between Christian ideas and some of the modern movements in Hinduism. Recently in Krishnagar it was announced by a Hindu that, to celebrate the conclusion of the war, Christians would assemble in the church, Moslems at the mosques and Hindus at the temples for public worship ! This is merely one of the many emblems of the reception by

Hinduism of ideas which have completely altered its horizon. It would of course be as easy to point to Hindu elements in the Indian Christian Church, but my point here is to prove the capacity of Hinduism for nationality. The ability of Hinduism to respond to new stimuli may also be seen in the *volte face* of Hindu society regarding travel in Europe. The same intensified national consciousness which produced the idea of *swadeshiism* also recognised that foreign training was necessary for commerce and industry. Foreign travel, however, is a caste offence : theoretically it involves the penalty of outcasting and very rigorous ceremonies for reinstallation in caste. The caste scruples however have bowed before necessity and the England-America-or-Japan-returned Hindu, if he so wishes, is received into caste without difficulty.

Another argument is the comparative. Is there any historical parallel where caste, or an approximation to caste, has disappeared in front of national feeling ? One such parallel exists —Japan—and peculiarly enough Japan exercised an enormous influence on Indian national feeling for a reason other than social, namely, her victory over Russia. The victory over Russia really is not half so important from the Indian point of view as Japan's victory over herself. The Japanese parallel rests on the division of Japanese society into sections whose broad distinctions suggest the exclusiveness of caste. The Testament of Iyeyasu—Iyeyasu was a great Shogun of the early seventeenth century—contains a description of the Japanese caste system. Under the Japanese feudal system society was divided into three groups, first, the Throne and Court nobles (the Mikado and *Kuge*) ; second, the military class (*buke* or *samurai*), and, thirdly, the common people or *heimin*. In the Tokugawa era in which Iyeyasu lived these lines of cleavage were insisted on very strictly. The Mikado was looked on as divine, so divine indeed that only his wives and chief officers of state were allowed to look on him. The

transaction of public business was left to the magnates, or *Shoguns*, and the *samurai*. The Court nobility or *kuge* was a close family corporation, each family tracing its descent to some previous *Mikado*. The *kuge* occupied by right of heredity most Court offices though they received little or no pay for their work. After them came the military class or *samurai* who had hereditary revenues and held administrative posts. Below these came the *heimin* who had no social status at all. They were not allowed to carry swords and their revenues depended on what they earned by their own labour. These *heimin* were divided into husbandmen, artisans and traders, the most respectable being the husbandmen. The husbandmen were allowed to carry a sword, but only one, the *samurai* being allowed to carry two. The artisans, who, among others included sculptors, lacquer-workers and armourers, were next in social status. Traders were the lowest of all the recognised classes. Outside these classes were the *eta* and *hinin*. The *eta* were looked on as defiled ; the *hinin* were mendicants who performed tasks like the Indian *Doms*. Both these were the equivalent of the Indian Pariahs. They were given the most menial occupations, and were forbidden to intermarry with any save their own class. They lived in separate hamlets and could not eat with the higher classes. In addition to these classes there was within them the *Kumi* organisation whereby five or more families were organised under a headman who ruled the *Kumi* in the interests of peace and order. Behind the *Kumi* were the clans and tribes.

The break up of the Japanese caste system is a matter of recent history. The Pariah classes were admitted to the rank of the *heimin* in the Meiji era (in October 1871). The various events connected with the liberal movements in recent Japanese history cannot be given here but I must extract from them those points which are of immediate interest to our subject.

The chief forces in bringing about change were, first, political, arising from the ambition of the southern clans to seize power from the Tokugawa; secondly, loyal, arising from the training of the *samurai* and the history of the country; thirdly, religious, arising from the revival of Shintoism; and, fourthly, national, arising from foreign intercourse.

The political causes are mixed up with the existence of the Shogunate and the Japanese system of feudalism. The aims of the leading reformers were partly ambitious, partly democratic. The *samurai* of the Satsuma clan, for example, were credited with the idea of seizing the reins of government. In order to achieve their main object of union with other clans of the south they went so far to dispel distrust among the other clans that they insisted on a promise by the restored Emperor that a deliberative assembly should be formed. Out of this promise arose modern Japanese representative government.

The object of the reformers at first was merely national unity. Soon they recognised that under a system of territorial feudal autonomy such union was impossible. For unity a national system of law was essential to replace the varied types of feudal law. To secure the unity the feudal chiefs of the Satsuma, Choshu, Tosa and Hizen clans publicly surrendered their fiefs to the Emperor. This example, which was speedily followed by others, was a remarkable sacrifice, for a national cause, of the power of the larger clans. Some ascribe the movement to the personal ambition of the local *samurai* who hoped to benefit under the new régime. What actually caused the movement was an intense wave of patriotic feeling in which selfishness was eaten up by patriotism.

The first form of government was representative of the various clans and guaranteed the position of the *samurai* but gradually the *samurai* lost their privileges, with their special revenues. As it became clear that in the new system

there was no place for them the *samurai* in 1873 were deprived of their privileges. Although the act of deprivation was actually carried out by a government they had helped to establish they did not complain. Many, even before the ordinance of 1873, voluntarily stepped out of their class into the ranks of farmers and tradesmen. They recognised that their swords must be turned into ploughshares and ungrudgingly gave up their fine heredity for the good of their country. The *samurai* were, in our local parallel, Brahmins of Brahmins, but they stepped down to be Vaisyas, even Sudras, without complaint. Few nations can provide a similar act of noble self-sacrifice.

The Japanese Reform movements were faced with dangers similar to those of India. New ideas, new forms of government had suddenly come on the scene, but there was not sufficient basis to build on. The Japanese accordingly began to equip their country in such a way as to fit themselves for their new responsibilities. In the army, navy, railways, education, medicine and fine art Frenchmen, Englishmen, Germans, Italians and Americans were called in to help, their services being necessary only till the Japanese themselves could do the work. Efficiency was called in to protect democracy.

The revival of Shintoism was also an important element in Japanese nationalism. Shintoism, the primitive religion of Japan, had been absorbed in Buddhism about the 9th century, but in the 17th century a revival of the old religion took place, led by some illustrious scholars and publicists. The political purpose of this revival was to encourage revolt against the cleavages of feudalism by inspiring the Japanese people with one faith. Shintoism was responsible largely for the 1867 restoration, but later, after its disestablishment, it again gave way to Buddhism.

Shintoism is a type of ancestor worship. The spirits of the dead guide and rule the living. Every action, every thought of the individual is governed by the dead, who,

therefore, must be honoured before the living. The rules of the dead too are immovable and must be rigidly obeyed. Such a religion implies implicit obedience and a spirit of self-discipline. The same spirit of obedience marks the *samurai* whose absolute obedience to rule and self-sacrifice in front of duty are their finest traditions. Japan thus by religion and tradition was able to overcome a caste system which might have proved a far more strongly disuniting force than was the feudal system in the west. But, as Risley says, Japanese nationalism did not originate in the theoretical sentiment of a literate class which might or might not have worked down to the lower strata of society.

India has much to learn from Japan in self-discipline and efficiency. Risley, in reference to Japanese discipline says : " To my mind the most striking among the many evidences of the diffusion of the spirit of unity in Japan is to be found in the extraordinary secrecy maintained during the war with Russia. The correspondents of foreign papers, ready to pay any price for news, saw one division after another vanish into space but no foreigner could find out where the troops embarked, where they would land or what was their ultimate destination. At a time when the issue of the contest hung upon the command of the sea two great battleships were lost by misadventure and the disaster was concealed until its disclosure could no longer imperil the national existence. These things were known to thousands but the secret was safe because all classes were inspired by the passionate enthusiasm and self-devotion which the Shinto religion has developed into an instinct, so that the low-born coolie is as fine a patriot as the *samurai* of ancient descent."

And we may conclude with Risley : " When India can rise to these heights of discipline and self-control India may rival Japan."

R. N. GILCHRIST.

# CHARLES RUSSELL

*(Late Principal of Patna College. Killed in action on November 22, 1917.)*

## A MEMOIR.

BY J. A. CHAPMAN.

Elsewhere I have written of Charles Russell :—

Oh ! that some spirit  
Would breathe on me, that I might give the world  
All that the seas engulfed, the years concealed —  
But hark ! from out his grave a shout is hurled :  
“ Nothing is lost : ye do the whole inherit ! ”

That is not really one of those exasperating falsities, to which the instinct for the “ happy ending ” drives so many writers ; but that is what it will appear to many. To those, for instance, who have known Russell since his Oxford days, and who will never now read his book on philosophy. To those friends of a later date, to whom he was better known as an economist, and whose thought again must be of work unfinished. To his colleagues at Patna College, to whom his loss is irreparable. To his students, some at least of whom felt that in Charles Russell they lost their best friend. There are others too.

To all those it must, or at least may, appear to have some of the falsity of the “ happy ending ” ; but not to me ; for I feel that I have inherited all the inspiration of his character and example. It was, I feel too, so fine an inspiration, that, if possible, it ought to be communicated to others ; and one would try at the same time to pass on something of the unfailing charm of his nature. That will mean speaking of many things, each of no great importance in itself ; for, if it is true that the best portion of a good man’s life are

"The little, nameless, unremembered acts  
Of kindness and of love,"

it is truer that what makes the charm of a man is the sum of ever so many little things.

To speak of Russell first in relation to people generally, his greatest value is seen to have been his exceptional power of intellect. His Master, Almond, recognized it at Loretto, and showed that he did in the choice of the subjects which they discussed together. He showed it also, as one gathered from the echoes of the discussions that survived in quotations, in his way of feeling that it was quite worth while discussing such topics with Russell, though Russell was then still a boy. He had, of course, ceased to be that, when he left Oxford with his First Class in *Greats*, and at the time, which soon followed, of his application for an examinership in Logic and Philosophy, in connexion with which a letter from Dr. Almond about him is extant. Dr. Almond's recognition of him was then of one who had gone beyond him in the domain of pure thought. The feeling of comradeship was, however, only the more heightened, and it is the expression of it that gives the two or three letters to Russell in Dr. Almond's *life* their special value.

Russell's First Class in *Greats* was only a part of Oxford's recognition of his intellectual pre-eminence. There are letters that speak of it—some of them bearing date quite twenty years later—from tutors and examiners. Their special interest was in his philosophic thinking, a matter upon which no one, now that he has not lived to write the book for which so much material had been gathered, will ever have the opportunity of passing a final judgment.

My own recognition of his intellectual pre-eminence dates back to the time of the controversy about the Calcutta University, a controversy that reached the end of one stage with the passing of the Indian Universities Act during Lord Curzon's Viceroyalty. It is easy to know what to say about Russell's part in that controversy. It was extremely

brilliant. It is difficult to decide what to say about the controversy itself. I will venture only this—that Russell was for reform. To effect a reform of the University from within was impossible. The only hope lay in the Government of India taking action, and to secure that it did, it was necessary to arouse the Viceroy's interest in the question. No means were to be neglected, but what was most relied on was polemic. The controversy must not be allowed to flag till the end in view had been secured. Russell's part was brilliantly performed, as I have said. He wrote articles for the *Times*, leaders and endless letters for the Calcutta papers, and a pamphlet called "Chapter and Verse," while others of the band were as busy writing their pamphlets and leaders and letters. If a visitor came, he was not allowed to go home till he had written something, and it was Russell who made him write it. He made me write several letters, though I hadn't the smallest connexion with the University. "Chapman," he said one day, "you have got to write a letter to the *Statesman*, and sign it "A Business Man."

Clearer proof of a man's intellectual capacity is possible than his having played a brilliant part in a controversy. One will be asked what Russell did of constructive work for the Calcutta University, as a member of the Syndicate in 1905 ; how valuable his co operation was in the discussions that preceded the founding of Patna University, and so on. What he did during that year for the Calcutta University was only a beginning. During the rest of his connexion with the University he was "in opposition." He was "in opposition," too, in the matter of the Patna University. All he could do was to lay bare the fundamental fallacies in the "idea" of those Universities. In his *Times* articles, in the Minority Report that he and Mr. V. H. Jackson wrote as members of the Patna University Committee, in his last pamphlet, "Higher Education and Popular Control," and in other writings he did this. He had

never any real opportunity for constructive work ; never such an opportunity as he would have had, if he had been appointed, e.g., Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University ; not even such an opportunity as membership of the recent Calcutta University Commission would have conferred. His special talent for such constructive work was wasted.

It seemed, indeed, that it was fated that it should be. As the possessor of such a character, intellect, and power of insight into things ; as one deeply read in all the best that has been thought and said about education, from Plato to Newman and Arnold, he was marked more obviously than almost any man who has come to India as one to entrust with responsibility ; yet he never was in any real measure. Even when he was in name, it proved only in name. He has left a mass of papers on the subject of the Sanskrit College in Calcutta, on the condition of which he was once instructed to report. Nothing came of it. Nothing came of what promised to be an even greater opportunity. There was to be a college of a new type at Ranchi, of which he was to be Principal. He was to be given an almost undreamt-of freedom, that he might build it up to embody the very best of his thought. Then came a year, or two years, of lean revenue ; the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, to whose mind the project owed its inception, retired ; the Director of Public Instruction who had fathered it was transferred ; the project was first postponed, then abandoned. It had occupied months of Russell's time and thought, and all that is now left of it is another mass of papers.

Though much of his thought regarding collegiate education in India was expressed only in conversation, it was expressed so clearly, and is so sharply defined in one's memory, that one could still found and guide the college of which he dreamed. He would have combined two things— as high an ideal of scholarship for its own sake as Newman's, and the discipline and building up of character that he had

learned from Dr. Almond. Of course we all have an ideal of scholarship, and we all speak of the importance of building up character ; but whether we have an untiring passion for scholarship, whether we have the almost magical power of conveying to young men an idea that shall be a sure guide through life—it all depends upon that. Russell had both.

It is a relief to turn to his work as a teacher. At the Presidency College in Calcutta he lectured first on English literature. That, however, was not his work for long. I shall always regret that it should have been so, for there was proof that in him, if not fully developed, was a fine critic of literature. His strength did not lie in any special insight into the philosophy of criticism, and he could not have breathed a new spirit into English criticism in the way which Arnold did. It lay in his insight into the dramatist's and novelist's "people," and through them into the minds and characters, especially the characters, of their creators. What I have in mind are his analyses, all given in conversation, of Hamlet, Othello, Falstaff, Peer Gynt, Willoughby Patterne, and many others—analyses the special interest of which was the light they threw upon the characters of Shakespeare, Ibsen, Meredith, and the others. That was the thing of great value—to study, and understand, and "live with" Shakespeare and Meredith, as if they had been colleagues at Patna College, or companions in Kashmir. He had an equal power of reaching the mind and characters of authors of books of a very different class, and knew Aristotle, Plato, Dante, Milton, Hobbes, and Goethe as he knew Shakespeare and Meredith. What he always, consciously or unconsciously, set out to discover was what worth of character Milton possessed, or Hobbes, or Leslie Stephen, or who it might be ; and if he found in any of an author's writings what in a companion he couldn't put up with, anything, for instance, that makes a man a bounder, all his writings were spoiled for him. De Quincey had

written of *Wilhelm Meister* like a bounder, and with that clue you detected the bounder in all his writings ; Loti is a bounder in this book or that, and you could do something better with the time you might spend in reading his manlier books ; Rossetti buried his poems in his wife's grave, and afterwards had it opened to get at them, and *The Blessed Damozel* smelt of that. This way of considering authors, and the real power of insight with which he did it, would have given his literary criticism the requisite originality.

He lectured on Logic and Philosophy at the Presidency College for some years. He was then transferred to Patna. The exigencies of the college work there suggested his taking up the study of economics. The desire to do some more practical good for India than he had yet done was an additional incentive. The study meant breaking ground in many new fields, in one of which I had had experience that enabled me to measure the rapidity and thoroughness with which he could grasp a new subject. He carried thoroughness even to excess. Such a book as Bagehot's *Lombard Street*, which we took into camp at the Barabar Hills one Christmas time, he read and criticised line by line, and if, in discussion, such a detail was mentioned as the Indian Exchange Banks' purchases of *bills*, he would not pass on till he knew as much of those bills as if scores of them had passed through his hands. That was thoroughness, but you may carry it to excess. Russell sometimes did. His friends will remember the time when he was no a little "graph-mad." There is no doubt that we should possess more of his finished work, if he had not always been so determined not to write a line of a book till the subject had been explored into its obscurest corner.

We should possess more of it, too, if he had not had so many other intellectual tasks. One was the study of Bengali. It occupied all his leisure for two years or so. He then took up Sanskrit, the parent-language of Bengali. Mere

intellectual thoroughness dictated that, as it suggested, if it did not dictate, that a Professor of Literature in India should read the Kalidasian drama in the original; that a Professor of Philosophy should study the Hindu and Buddhist systems; that a Professor of Political Economy and Philosophy should read the writings of Kautilya and Chanakya. With imported intelligences in India it is as with the precious metals—they are absorbed. There was another claim—one that Russell would have been quick to recognize anywhere—the claim of the ordinary day's work in college to a man's undivided attention. It is a claim that is perhaps more insistent among Indian students than among any others in the world.

The same power of getting hold of things with his mind was invaluable to Russell as a soldier. His letters are full of expressions of the diffidence he felt, as before beginning a course of instruction in Lewis' gun practice; but when the time came he found it all easy; and his letters are equally full of laughing references to himself as one who was becoming a “highly efficient *sub.*” His work as a Company Commander, we are told, showed a complete mastery of difficulties, and excited the admiration of professional soldiers. But the mastery of difficulties is what characterises a good mind. Long before he became a soldier one had proof of how, when something failed him, he could fall back on something else. He was totally without the bump of locality, and could say that the road to take was this or that one, when it so obviously could not be, that one thought he must be joking. “By the light of nature,” as he once said, he was as “helpless as a child”; but with a map and a compass he was as certain of the direction as any man, and could wander all day in the Scotch Highlands, in Kashmir, in the Rockies, and never lose his way.

Two things characterised him as an intellectual being—the untiringness of his mind, and the little

interest he had in any use of it, except in play, that hadn't the discovery of truth as the end in view. As good a proof as any of his untiringness was his way of devoting the hours in the train that took him, after a hard term's work, to Kashmir, or where it might be, to verse translation of some passage of Lucretius, or Dante, that he knew by heart, or the Sanskrit slokas of which, before starting, he had scribbled a prose translation on the back of an envelope. Of his use of his mind in intellectual play, and the great charm and interest of that, I must remember to speak when the time comes.

The passion that made him search for truth everywhere was innate in him, but it had obviously been strengthened by Dr. Almond's teaching. He hated the contentment with half-truths that is so common—those that partisanship or prejudice of any kind presents to men's minds as the whole. He hated what he called "woolliness" in men's thoughts and writings—the confused presentments of things that one gets from men who have not enough intelligence and character combined to help them to see what they mean. To search for truth, whether the abstract truth of philosophy, or truth in the practical affairs of men, was the occupation of Russell's life.

His search for the abstract truth of philosophy finally ended, he once confided to me, in a weary feeling that it was undiscoverable, which partly explains the readiness with which he took up the study of economics. It is a reasonable opinion, and one that at times one is forced to share, that in any case his book on philosophy would never have been written. To satisfy his own mind it would have had to be a constructive work, and he could never have built a constructive work on foundations of which he was not himself sure. One of his favourite quotations was Clough's description of truth as

"Flexible, changeable, vague, and multiform, and doubtful,"  
a line which he would roll out with the fulness of

emphasis of which his deep voice was so capable. The next moment, however, he would quote his :—

“ It fortifies my soul to know  
That, though I perish, Truth is so :  
That, howsoe'er I stray and range,  
Whate'er I do, Thou dost not change.  
I steadier step when I recall  
That, if I slip, Thou dost not fall ”

Such being the habit of his mind, he was the last person one would ever expect to find taking the doctrinaire view of a question ; yet in his economic studies he did occasionally appear to take it. It is probable enough, however, that he only used it as a halting-place ; for nothing was more characteristic of him than the readiness with which he would re-open a question, the moment some unconsidered aspect of it presented itself. He could grow tired of a thing he had taken up, even grow very tired, as of some pamphlet he was writing, when the struggle between his scholar's conscience and his longing to have done with the thing was amusing to watch ; but he never tired of a question. There were striking instances of that. The balance of the argument, he said years ago, seemed to him clearly in favour of Free Trade ; but he never treated the question as one upon which his opinion was formed ; and one of the last things he said was that, while still convinced that the Free Trade argument was theoretically unassailable, he thought that, in given circumstances, Protection would be the right policy.

If the impression has been given that there was something Hamlet-like in his mind, that is altogether wrong. He had an extraordinarily high criterion of truth—that was all. A view he never could have held was that, if a man was “ slack ” in investigating abstract questions, it would after all not matter much, for it could have no reflex action on his character and conduct. Thought with him was a part of conduct. There would have been something Hamlet-like in his conduct had there been anything of that quality

in his mind. There was clearly nothing. The call for action gave his mind, if anything, an added strength, and its working an unwonted rapidity. He appeared never afterwards to question the conclusions on which he had acted.

## II.

In the following sonnet by Archbishop Trench there is given a clear and, it would be admitted, an adequate expression of a not unfamiliar view of life : -

" To feel that we are homeless exiles here,  
 To listen to the world's discordant tone,  
 As to a private discord of our own,  
 To know that we are fallen from a sphere,  
 Of higher being, pure, serene, and clear,  
 Into the darkness of this dim estate—  
 This thought may sometimes make us desolate,  
 For this we may shed many a secret tear.  
 But to mistake our dungeon for a throne,  
 Our place of exile for our native land,  
 To hear no discords in the universe,  
 To find no matter over which to groan,  
 This ((O)h ! that men would rightly understand ! )  
 This, seeing better, were indeed far worse."

The view of life expressed in that sonnet is one that Russell contradicted every hour of the long years during which we knew him. There was none of that *Weltenschmerz* in him. There was as little of the Arnoldian kind, or any other. On the flyleaf of one of his books he had written :—

" Let us roll all our strength, and all  
 Our sweetness up into one ball,  
 And tear our pleasures with rough strife,  
 Thorough the iron gates of life." <sup>1</sup>

That was his motto, or one of them.

He was, however, no cheerful, careless pagan, but a serious student of life—a diligent reader of the world's Bible, especially the Hebrew part. He knew that there

<sup>1</sup> Andrew Marvell. *To His Coy Mistress*.

is nothing better than the purity of a good man's life, and that men easily fall into impurity. Yet his days were serene and joyous. It was not, of course, that he found "no" matter over which to groan." There is no ground for assuming that his kind do not. Had there been nothing else to groan over, he might even have groaned a little over that sonnet. To say what his serenity and joyousness rested on would have its interest. They were so complete, that for a parallel one has to fall back upon some perhaps too rose-coloured picture of a holy monk of the Middle Ages, in the cloisters of his peaceful monastery—of one to whom the Bible was an inspired Book ; one to whom our Lord's miraculous birth and resurrection, and the miracles of His life of teaching and healing, were things of which no rationalizing mind had whispered any doubt ; one whom no word had reached of men of other faiths. That is the parallel one thinks of, and while thinking of it some minor resemblances between the monk's rule of life and Russell's emerge.

The prayer and fasting by means of which the holy monk sought to keep his carnal nature in subjection had their counterpart in Russell's system. He relied most of all on that powerful corrective of sensual tendency—the cultivation of strong and varied intellectual interests. One of his favourite quotations was Hobbes'

"...the care of knowing causes ; which is a Lust of the mind, that by a perseverance of delight in the continuall and indefatigable generation of Knowledge, exceedeth the short vehemence of any carnall Pleasure.'

Having said this, I am tempted to add that the singular purity of his life seemed effortless, as occasionally it may be in a member of a disciplined family, belonging to a disciplined race, moulded by refining influences during a long succession of years.

The body, however, with its marvellous senses, was to Russell the best of things, but one by exercise to keep hard

and fit. The taking of exercise was done, then, by rule. There was an underlying idea, a discriminating between one form of exercise and another. He preferred those forms that have the spite of danger in them; even, he once laughingly said, "the appearance of danger without the reality." Some of his exercise had actually the reality, and one was occasionally warned not to go rowing (on the Hughli during the monsoon currents) or climbing with him any more. He insisted also on the value of doing difficult things simply because they are difficult, and would never have thought the game he could play best the game to play oftenest. What made him a rock climber was his perceiving that it was an exercise for which he was in some ways physically handicapped. He would have become an alpinist, I know, without that incentive, for the instinct that has made the Hindus consecrate so many springs of water in the Upper Himalayas, and yearly draws thousands of pilgrims to them, lay deep in him—the hunger for the purer air of the eternal snows, and the silence of those spaces. I shall never forget a long evening with him, one march from Manimahesh and Koilash in the Chamba country in the Himalayas, when, from the altitude of about 10,000 feet, we watched first the sun set and then Arcturus. His worship was made of such things, and his work was his prayer. To return to the crowded plains, once or twice a year, from the clean places of the glaciers, and not be pure and magnanimous and disinterested—to be time-serving and pusillanimous—that would have been to be blind and deaf to their influences. How was it possible? How is it, when it is? Many have felt the power for them of Russell's example from August, 1914, to his death in action in Palestine. To me there will always have been a finer idea and a rarer inspiration in what he made of his life during the years of peace.

He liked, when it was time "to practise austerities," to use his phrase—to deny oneself wine for instance—that

you should keep him company ; but, his heart was much more in your drinking with him. To hear him roll out—

“ I cannot eat but little meat,  
My stomach is not good ; ”  
But sure I think that I can drink  
With him that wears a hood.  
Though I go bare, take ye no care,  
I nothing am a-cold ;  
I stuff my skin so full within  
Of jolly good ale and old ”

or the five reasons for drinking—

“ Good wine, a friend, or being dry,  
Or lest one should be by and by,  
Or any other reason why,—

or read aloud the great Port Wine chapter in the “ Egoist,” or the drinking scenes in “ Henry IV ” and “ Othello,” were things one may have enjoyed more than the port or the beer we were drinking—things Russell himself thoroughly enjoyed—but the drinking was a serious business ! The rock climbing, after work, was the great thing in life ; but not to have a good drink at the top, and nothing at dinner that night to mark the day—it was a despicably anaemic thought that shouldn’t see the senselessness of it. “ \_\_\_\_\_,” he said one day, “ is a fiery spirit—he ought to smoke more and drink less. You and I are inclined to be sluggish—we ought to smoke less, and drink more ! ”

His joyousness, aided by an enormous sense of humour and an undiminished boy’s love of fun, filled with laughter whatever time was not spent in argument and discussion. His sense of humour never failed him. No fun was ever too boyish for him. He could invite you to dine, and witness the introduction of an Orientalist with a European reputation, and greatly Russell esteemed him for it, to a Smith’s Prizeman, and spend an hour after dinner, amid laughter that hardly ceased, in giving reasons

why the learned Doctors should get on chairs, and sing songs. He never tired of adding a few pen strokes to the chin of some figure in the picture post-card he was to send home. It then stood for the "Banker"<sup>2</sup> and his beard. The way he ragged you came within an inch of being sheer rudeness, but it never was, and his laughter was so infectious that you were presently ragging yourself. If he had to be grave about it, he could be. He once, and his inimitable gravity carried it off, made his gramophone play "Hullo! Tu-tu, how are you? How d'ye do, d'ye do, Tu-tu" to a lady who had asked for a song by Melba!

His parodies were part of the fun. His stories and the sayings he would quote were another. They had many of them a bookish flavour, and had come to light in the course of his omnivorous reading. There was Johnson's

"They were afraid it would never fall!"

of the wall in Edinburgh that was to fall, it had been predicted, on some learned man, but which they told him they had pulled down. There were all the other good things in *Boswell*. Then there was Lamb's

"Dear God! the very houses seem asleep,"

when Wordsworth and he could get no answer to all their knocking. There was FitzGerald quoting Bishop Warburton:—

"The Church, like the Ark of Noah, is worth saving: not for the sake of the unclean beasts that almost filled it, and probably made most noise and clamour in it, but for the little corner of rationality, that was as much distressed by the stink within, as by the tempest without."

There was Hobbes'

"Fear of power invisible, feigned by the mind or imagined from tales publicquely allowed, Religion; not allowed, Superstition. And when the power imagined, is truly such as we imagine, True Religion."

<sup>2</sup> His companion on many occasions.

There was Sir Thomas Browne's—

“ The first shall be of the elephant, whereof there generally passeth an opinion it hath no joints : and this absurdity is seconded with another, that, being unable to lie down, it sleepeth against a tree ; which the hunters observing do saw it almost asunder ; whereon the beast relying, by the fall of the tree falls also down itself, and is able to rise no more : ”

and his—

“ Since, therefore, we have so slender grounds to confirm the existence of the phœnix,—since there is no ocular witness of it—since, as we have declared, by authors from whom the story is derived, it stands rather rejected—since they who have seriously discoursed hereof have delivered themselves negatively, diversely, or contrarily—since many others cannot be drawn into the argument as writing poetically, rhetorically, enigmatically—since Holy Scripture alleged for it, duly perpended, doth not advantage it ;—and lastly, since so strange a generation, unity and long life, hath neither experience nor reason to confirm, *—how far to rely on this tradition we refer unto consideration.*”

Part of the secret of the charm of his companionship was his so decided preference for the thing done in a company of two to the thing done alone. He would ask you to let him read something aloud to you, he had enjoyed it so much. Such a thing as Canning's *Friend of Humanity and the Knife Grinder*. One could never forget the relish with which he rolled out :

“ I give thee sixpence ! I will see thee damned first--  
Wretch ! whom no sense of wrongs can rouse to vengeance—  
Sordid, unfeeling, reprobate, DEGRADED,  
SPIRITLESS OUTCAST !”

Others were Calverley's *Wanderers*, with its conclusion :—

“ Thus on he prattled like a babbling brook.  
Then I, ‘ The sun hath slipt behind the hill  
And my aunt Vivian dines at half-past six.’  
So in all love we parted ; I to the Hall,  
They to the village. It was noised next noon  
That chickens had been missed at Syllabub Farm ;”

and *The Cock and the Bull*—

“ You see this pebble-stone ? It’s a thing I bought  
 Of a bit of a chit of a boy i’ the mid o’ the day—  
 I like to dock the smaller parts-o’-speech,  
 As we curtail the already cur-tail’d cur  
 (You catch the paronomasia, play ‘po’ words ?)  
 Did rather, i’ the pre-Landseerian days . . . ;”

Thackeray’s *Jeames*, Pistol’s “ Base is the slave that pays ”—  
 or, rather, the whole of that scene ; Browning’s *Bishop Blougram’s Apology*, *Caliban upon Setebos*, *The Bishop Orders his Tomb at Saint Praxed’s Church*, and *The Soliloquy of the Spanish Cloister* ; Meredith’s *Jump-to-Glory Jane* ; the account in Boswell’s *Johnson* of the dinner at Mr. Dilly’s on Wednesday, 15th May 1776, when Boswell’s admirable diplomacy brought Dr. Johnson and Wilkes together ; Mrs. Carlyle’s *Budget of a Femme Incomprise*, and one of Carlyle’s descriptions of the Welfs in *Frederick* (probably the first—Book IX, Chapter I), after reading which he laid down the book, exclaiming : “ What a marvellous literary gift Carlyle had ! ”

There was the conclusion of Meredith’s *Modern Love* :—

“ Ah, what a dusty answer gets the soul,  
 When hot for certainties in this our life !—  
 In tragic hints here see what evermore  
 Moves dark as yonder midnight ocean’s force,  
 Thundering like ramping hosts of warrior horse,  
 To throw that faint thin line upon the shore ! ”

the passage in Browning’s *Christmas-Eve and Easter-Day* containing the description of the moon-rainbow :—

“ For lo, what think you ? Suddenly  
 The rain and the wind ceased . . . ”

Shelley’s *O World ! O Life ! O Time, The Ode to the West Wind*, *Ozymandias of Egypt* ; Milton’s *Ode on the Morning of Christ’s Nativity*, read one Christmas Day, when he suggested,

that we should read it, together or apart, every Christmas afterwards. There was also the last of Wordsworth's *Duddon* sonnets, to the call of which Russell's whole nature vibrated :—

“ We men, who in our morn of youth defied  
 The elements, must vanish ;—be it so !  
 Enough, if something from our hands have power  
 To live, and act, and serve the future hour ;  
 And if, as toward the silent tomb we go,  
 Through love, through hope, and faith's transcendent dower,  
 We feel that we are greater than we know.”

Others were Hamlet's “ How all occasions . . . ,” especially because of its

“ Rightly to be great  
 Is not to stir without great argument,  
 But greatly to find quarrel in a straw  
 When honour's at the stake ; ”

and the Duke's—

“ Be absolute for death ; either death or life  
 Shall thereby be the sweeter ”

in *Measure for Measure* ; and Othello's “ My soul hath her content so absolute . . . ”

One, to mention one more, was the dialogue between Buddha and the Countryman, each verse ending with (I have to quote from memory) “ So let the rain, if it will, come down to-night.”

His talk seldom ceased. If one had taken it all down, there would now be a volume of Reminiscences, a volume on public questions, a collection of biographical studies, a volume of literary criticism, and several “ Jest Books.” He had the power of making a person you had never seen, Dr. Almond for instance, more familiar than many people you had known. He was seldom exactly witty, or his wit was not the quotable kind. He had a way of playing round a thing, and piling up phrases about it, till they toppled over amid a flood of laughter. He was once asked, without

further definition, if in his day they had a jam pudding at Loretto. His reply was a breathless string of questions. 'What kind of jam pudding? What besides jam—pastry, or bread, or suet, or what? Was it long or short? Was it flat, or a roll, or what? Was it cold or hot? Was the jam inside or out?' And so on, till it could be kept up no longer, and everyone laughed. Of single quotable things there are two that might be mentioned. He used to ride, but with his head full of other things, and, one noticed, with unseeing eyes and mouth open. "The Uncle," his horse, about which there would have been half a dozen pages in that volume of *Reminiscences*, sometimes came home without him. He would presently appear, perhaps with little bits of leaves in his long hair. Once he had sustained a slight concussion. The doctor gave two powders, one of which he was to take at once. "How am I to know it isn't poison?" "If it is," said his companion, "I'll take the other one." "It would then be too late! I shouldn't be interested!" The other thing was said over some poor black currant jam. "Black currant jam," he said, "is never fit to eat." "Oh, but it is," I told him; "only it must be made of real currants, picked from real bushes." "I see!" he said. "You think this man's motto is: 'My currants need no bush!'"

When he most wanted a companion was in the open air. There was something lyrical in his enjoyment of it all—the occasional start before the morning star had paled, the long marches, the bathing in rivers that were crossed, the roadside halts for meals, all the talk of birds and flowers seen, the evening camp fires, sometimes, in the dry Indian plains, the sleeping under the stars. He knew their names, and their risings and settings, and would go out, even leaving a bright fire, and say good-night to them night after night. For animals he had the love of all such men. He returned to camp once, looking very unhappy. He had thrown a stone to rouse something he was too short-sighted to

make out clearly. It had been not one thing, but two—two of the downiest owlets. One flew past him : the other he was afraid he had hit. What impressed him most in Burma was not, I believe, the pagodas, nor the good humour and bright clothes of the Burmese, but the sleekness of all their bullocks, and the obvious affection of the people for them.

His holiday places were the Scotch Highlands, Switzerland and the Tyrol, Japan, the Rockies, Parasnath Hill, Rajgir, the Barabar Hills and Kauwa Dol in Bihar and Orissa, and Kashmir and the Himalayas from the various points from which they are approached. Sikkim from Darjeeling, the Pindari glacier from Naini Tal, Gangotri from Mussoorie, and Chamba, north of Dalhousie. With one or other of his many friends he would set off for one of these places, as happy as a boy let out of school. In some of his holiday places, in Rajgir and at the Barabar Hills for instance, there was the added interest of amateur archæologising, the tracing the footsteps of Buddha and Ananda and King Bimbisara. There were vacations devoted to hard reading of Sanskrit, or Hindu and Buddhist Philosophy, or Economics ; but there was always some marching and climbing. The ascent of Kauwa Dol<sup>1</sup> is a story by itself. The summit, a perpendicular mass of rock, over which it was necessary to pass the rope, long baffled him, and might have done so to the end, but for help from one of the Hughli pilots. He had the very thing, he said—an Andamanese bow and arrow. With it a light string was shot over ; then a light rope pulled over ; then the climbing rope. The interest of Kauwa Dol was never exhausted. There were still new ways to the platform on which the summit rests, new traverses, new cracks up which to squeeze. He wished a monograph written on Kauwa Dol, but that was perhaps only intellectual

<sup>1</sup> Recommended to all rock climbers. It is a few miles from Bela, a station on the Patna-Gya line, and is visible from the railway.

play. He was always suggesting that one should write monographs.

He had more friends than anybody I have ever known, having always been good at making friends, and good at keeping them. There was no shyness or reserve to stand between him and other people. He had not even the shyness of the literary man, which makes him shrink from the thought of anyone's seeing his work, till it is finished, if not even when it is. He wrote his things in public, in a way in which I have known no one else write, asking your opinion of this turn of the argument, or that alternative—this phrase or that other. Everything combined to give his friendship the highest possible value. He was full of gifts—intellectual power, love of action, love of talk and discussion, love of books, music, painting, architecture—but not one of them had for him alone the full enjoyment that it gave him when shared with another.

His writing has just been mentioned. He was singularly modest about it. Once he spoke of the men whose talent is not sufficient for original work in poetry, but who have a gift for verse translation, and of the mistake they so often make of attempting original work. That was a mistake he meant not to make, and till near the end of his life, except light verse and parodies, which did not count, he wrote only translations. They were written in trains for the most part, but were revised at home, and he always intended some day to publish a volume of translation as a minor work. He had perhaps more of a gift for certain kinds of original verse than he knew.

A word more about his reading. A wrong impression may have been given by my over-emphasising his fondness for amusing things. It was usually such that he read aloud, but by no means always, as my list will have shown. He read everything. His repeatedly expressed love of didactic and philosophic verse gave the impression, which was true enough, as he once admitted, that in the power of

appreciating lyrical poetry he was somewhat deficient. That makes it interesting to recall one of my earliest recollections of him. It was hearing him quote, two or three places off at dinner,

"the daffodils  
That come before the swallow dares, and take  
The winds of march with beauty."

He often spoke of the wealth of lyrical poetry scattered throughout Shakespeare's plays, especially in "Othello" and "Anthony and Cleopatra." But his choice of passages for verse-translation—passages from Lucretius, Dante, Goethe, and the Vedic writings—shows where his deepest interest lay. He was a determined jester, to go back, in the streets that lead to the temple, but if you wished to find him, you must oftenest look in the temple itself. He held daily communion there with those whose word on human life is the deepest and most inspiring. He thought of it all with a high, pure courage, and part of that spirit passed into those around him.

J. A. CHAPMAN.

*Imperial Library,  
Calcutta.*

## INDIAN WOMEN AND REFORM.

BY ANNA ROSS MACIVOR.

IN the debate on the second reading of the Indian Reform Bill in the House of Commons, one of the speakers urged the extension of the franchise to all persons not illiterate, *including women*. To anyone acquainted with the domestic and social life of India there is pathos and unconscious irony in this phrase. The number of literates among women is somewhere between one and two per cent. Even among this small number able to read and write very few are educated in any real sense of the word.

The subject of the enfranchisement of women has been much discussed, and certain steps have been taken to bring it before the public in India in the last few months. The attention of the English public is also being called to the question. If, however, enfranchisement is made dependent on the literacy of the voter—and it is difficult to think of any other simple test of capacity—all this agitation seems to be much ado about nothing since the vote of one per cent. of the women could never affect political issues in any way that counted. All that would result would be that the enfranchised women would have the excitement of recording their vote and might enjoy for the moment a pleasing sense of self-importance. But it seems scarcely worth while to send a deputation of Indian women to England to accomplish such an end. If such questions are put to the women of the deputation as : Are the highly educated ladies of Bombay typical of their countrywomen ? Are there many more as intelligent and highly educated as they ? There can be only one answer. There are, without doubt, many as innately intelligent, just as there are boys innately intelligent. But no one proposes to give political power to boys

on that ground. They have to wait until they have had a certain amount of education and developed maturity of mind. The women also must be content to wait. Not so long ago, so conservative was the attitude of India that it seemed as if they might have to wait for ever. Even now, unless the pace quickens, they may have to wait a century before education is general. Fortunately influences are at work which may quicken the pace ; and this quaint and unexpected desire for the vote among a small group of women in western India is no doubt one of these influences.

It is vain, surely, to think that the status of women in India can be improved by political emancipation until two other great obstacles to their freedom are dealt with : the all but universal neglect of education, and seclusion after early marriage. We shall be told that education does not necessarily consist of book knowledge, and that illiteracy does not always mean an entire lack of mental development. That has become a platitude and is much in the mouth of the educationists themselves. The discussion of what is true education will only distract those who are in earnest about this matter. If men are not educated by hearsay, neither should women be. Wit and shrewdness, often characteristic of the *purdahnashin*, are not the same as knowledge which can only come by the use of books in which knowledge is treasured. Political judgment can only be formed from first hand acquaintance with the records of public events in the press and other printed material. As a matter of fact, contact with the women even of enlightened Indian homes convinces the observer that they are in many respects childish in their understanding, ignorant of some of the very elements of knowledge, uninterested in and unacquainted with public affairs. These defects are due largely to inability to read and to the lack of masculine society in which matters of general import are discussed.

Rightly or wrongly, illiteracy, however picturesque and engaging to the sentimental, strikes the serious man

and woman as a melancholy and even tragic state. The amusement which the enlightened person may derive from it is short-lived and soon gives way to irritation.

It is a poor kind of humour that finds its subject in the disabilities of a fellow-creature. Illiteracy among the primitive tribes of Africa or the South Sea Islands may not appear to the traveller an unnatural condition, for many of these tribes are at the child stage of mental capacity ; but when combined with the civilized manners and unmistakeable intelligence of millions of India's craftsmen and peasants, a state of illiteracy seems incongruous and unjust. Notably is this so in the case of India's women. Nowhere in the world are to be found such natural gifts of mind and traditional graces of manner united to such ignorance and mental darkness.

The simplicity of the untaught has its charms. Masculine knowledge has always found a pleasure in answering out of its stores of superior wisdom the artless questions of feminine ignorance. The comic papers could hardly have existed without this fertile source of laughter ; and it may be regrettable to diminish the mirth of nations by limiting this field. But the day for such a form of entertainment is passing. In any case, untaught women and its other victims never found it very amusing. Now that woman in the West is learning to find her own answers to the riddles of life, woman in the East will not be content to remain in a state of tutelage.

It is only here and there that a small number of Indian women have become conscious of their own unfortunate state or have in any measure taken steps to change it. Among those who have ventured across the boundary not a few have given proof of that mental quality and *esprit* which make themselves evident in the restricted life behind the *purdah* but require a wider scope to come to their full development. Not less remarkable than the intellectual powers shown by some highly educated Indian

women has been their moral courage in braving the opinion of a society on the whole not only unfriendly but inimical to their ambitions. They have shown the spirit of the pioneer and in the future their names will be prized and their adventures extolled by those who in after years will reap the fruit of their daring.

Much has been heard recently of caste divisions in India in connection with the proposed political reforms. Opinions differ widely and even fiercely on the subject. Many maintain that the cleavage of society by such deeply-cut dividing lines makes any dream of democratic development idle and absurd. On the other hand, it would be possible, no doubt, to find Indians ready to maintain that caste, properly understood, is a truly democratic institution. Such paradoxes come easily to the Indian mind. Be that as it may, there is a cleavage in Indian life far deeper, far more serious than that of caste. Social and religious law among Hindus and Mahomedans alike has fixed a great gulf between the two constituents of human society, man and woman. This division was in past ages, although in varying degrees, universal; but nowhere has it been so rigid and followed with such bitter logic to its conclusions as in India. Woman is branded as inferior, she is treated as inferior, with what result? She has become inferior, and, saddest of all, she regards herself as inferior. The adoration of man enjoined upon the Indian woman has not elevated the man. It has but lowered the woman, devitalising her moral and spiritual qualities, robbing her of the freedom in which alone these qualities can grow to perfection, and rendering her feeble if not useless as a factor, perhaps the chief factor, in the improvement of the race and the development of national greatness. A writer referring to the low status of woman in India speaks of this country as a bird with a broken wing, rising in wild flutterings only to fall baffled to the ground again.

The reproaches of other countries seem to fall on ears strangely deaf and on hearts strangely callous when they reach India. India for the most part is very sure that she treats women just as they ought to be treated and that by so doing she has developed the type of woman she desires and admires. If other races choose to let their women get out of hand and defy all the traditions, let them do so. India judges her own methods wiser. What does woman want more than she has : a place of honour in the home as mother, protection from the rough world, the opportunity, if robbed of her natural supporters, of winning her daily bread by toil within the family circle, the life of a *religieuse* in her widowhood or her old age of pilgrimage, penance and fasting ?

To answer these questions would be to write a thesis on the whole subject of woman's place in the world, and no complete answer can be attempted here. It has been said that at the heart of woman's awakening in our generation lies the demand that "in the life of woman as in the life of man space and liberty shall be found for a thing bigger than either manhood or womanhood—for humanity." Woman desires to be wholly woman but not "merely woman." There ought to be and there is a great difference between true womanhood and womanishness. Humanity has not stopped growing. In some form or other belief in the superman of the future is in us all and we believe that growth is to be in the moral and spiritual part of mankind. Is there to be no superwoman to mate with this splendid creature of our dreams ? Is woman's condition to remain static ? It is the refusal to accept this idea that has prompted the well meant but premature movement for woman suffrage in India. One admires the courage but doubts the wisdom of those who would think of introducing this difficult question into the present welter of discussion about reform.

Sir Harry Stephen giving evidence before the joint committee on the Reform Bill, expressed an opinion that

India had a strong disposition to copy instead of originating anything. This is true but within limits. In certain directions the genius of India can claim unique and mighty achievements. If politically in the last century she has been imitative, it must be remembered that to be so is characteristic of all countries under similar political conditions. The same tendency was very marked in England, for example, at the time of the Norman Conquest when even her native language was all but lost. It would seem rather that India, having become alive to this trend, now desires freedom to shake off the bonds of slavish imitation that are shackling her growth. But imitation there has been, sometimes profitable, sometimes unnecessary and even ludicrous. It is a hopeful sign that current Indian literature has produced healthy criticism and penetrating satire on this aspect of the relation of western races and this country. No more perfect example of this kind of imitation could be pointed to than the present movement among Indian women for political power, small in quantity but ardent in quality. The leading spirits in the movement use the phraseology of the West with a glibness and heat that shows how easily a lesson can be learnt by quick-witted woman. It does not prove, however, that even socially emancipated Indian women stand where Western women stand in relation to public affairs, or are able to move forward in the same direction or at the same rate. Their starting point is totally different, and those whom they would carry with them, if their own progress is to affect the fortunes of their country, are bound and rooted where they are and cannot move until the causes of their inability are dealt with.

Indian women may, echoing their Western sisters, call attention to the fact that politically they are being left out of account, but such a grievance appears imaginary and the mere luxury of a small minority of highly educated persons compared with the real and clamant wrongs of the vast majority of their fellow-countrywomen. Doubtless the

privileged and emancipated few are alive to these wrongs and may even desire power in order to help to remove them. But as was pointed out, the power of one per cent. of the population cannot be expected to influence the country by political means. It must also be admitted that the women of Bombay and elsewhere have already done much towards creating a new public opinion about illiteracy of women and early marriage. They themselves must know well the difficulty of fighting agelong prejudice, and must grieve over the small advances made. But it seems that by their latest move they are blinding the eyes of those most ready to help them in their earlier endeavours by pretending that their earlier educational and social aims have now been achieved and that the great bulk of India's women are ready to exercise political power. That is not so. It cannot be so; and to make such a claim will but injure the cause they have been championing, the raising of woman's position domestically and socially. When that has been accomplished, her political emancipation will follow the course of other modern states.

India may be bored by hearing much and often of the position of her women but since the question of granting the suffrage to them has been raised the occasion seems opportune for reminding India once more how little she has done to take away this reproach.

It cannot be mere ignorance or prejudice that has created the impression outside of India that the lot of her women is one of the hardest of which past or present history give us any knowledge. Well informed and sympathetic observers of the domestic life of India have given us both the lighter and the darker side of the subject; Indian reformers have declared their views and the whole tendency of the reformed sects and societies has been towards drastic changes in the position of women; the women themselves have found their voice and frankly recognise the need for improvement. All this increased

examination of the matter goes to shew that the earlier impressions of outsiders were not far from the truth, and that India has not in this respect been worthy of her own greatness. She has been blind to the finest of her treasures, the jewel hidden in the dark casket of her domestic cloisters. Surely the crown and not the casket is the place for jewels. India will only be truly crowned with greatness when she wears her gems of womanhood proudly on her brow. If her women have glowed in the dark, how much more will they shine in the light !

To the Western mind the hardness of the Indian woman's lot is summed up in her entire absence of liberty. Her lack of independence, in the opinion of freer human beings, amounts to slavery. The slave may be kindly, even indulgently treated, in some cases idolised, but that cannot change the servile state. The slave may even kist her chains and prefer her servile state to one of freedom and responsibility ; but humanity, in individual or in race, in man or in woman, cannot reach its highest level without freedom ; nor will the sons of mothers not truly free be without some servile taint in the blood. If India would be truly free she must learn to give the freedom she asks.

Where India has practised freedom she has achieved greatness—in the intellectual sphere. There she has shaken off the shackles of narrow-mindedness and soared to heights that have enabled her gaze to sweep the whole range of human speculation. But along with this almost unexampled freedom of thought she has bound herself hand and foot in a social system which has benumbed and paralysed her and handicapped her in competition with freer races. Having failed to grasp freedom for herself she has not known how to give it to her children. To her women she has denied it altogether, thinking strangely that by so doing she was safeguarding them from a harsh and evil world. It may be wise to put certain fragile objects

under a glass shade. But if any living creature is so treated, it must die or at best live a life that is mere existence. An Indian speaker recently said before a public gathering of Indians "Coming nearer home here in the virtuous, timid, uneducated *purdahnashin* women and pre-arranged matches in our country, lies half the cause of the decadence of our people. And conversely, in the exceptional freedom in marriage choice—and love choice, in the Occidental countries lies half the cause of the organic vigour of the European race."

"Can man be free if woman be a slave" ? wrote one of the greatest poet-champions of woman's claims nearly a hundred years ago. More and more the generous minds of the race are coming to see that man's and woman's freedom are inextricably bound together. This new faith is a part of that wider human movement everywhere manifest that tends to emancipate the labourer, the child, and the oppressed classes and races. The chief article of this faith is that no human being shall be exploited for the benefit of any other. Service from others must be received as a gift, not taken as a right. All service must be rendered voluntarily and rewarded adequately. Such service is twice blessed. It blesses him that gives and him that takes. All other service demanded as a right by man from woman, by parent from child, by master from servant, by the stronger from the weaker, has been the curse of the world, leading on the one hand to tyranny and on the other to slavery ; just as service willingly given and sacrifice willingly made for others have been the world's salvation.

India understanding, perhaps more deeply than any nation, the spirit of self-denial, expressing it more profoundly in the sayings of her greatest thinkers has yet failed in becoming its greatest exemplar. No nation can yet lay claim to this great honour. The great exemplars have been individuals and they have been the saviours of society. Yet one cannot help thinking that the *women* of India as

a race have come nearer to perfection in the matter of selfless service than any other people in the world. Such nobility as they have shown in the secret of the home is needed by the world. But it is not by way of political power exercised from behind the *purdah* that that great force can be set to work upon the world, but by the rending of the material veil that has shut them in from their fellow-creatures and the spiritual veil that has hung before their minds and hidden from them the true needs of the world without.

What are some of the results, social and racial produced by the state of seclusion and dependence in which the women of India are kept? Does their peculiar situation create, as one would expect, peculiar and striking characteristics? What would be the gains and what the dangers of a fundamental change in the direction of freedom? Is such a change desirable as it appears inevitable? In what manner and by what stages is it to be achieved?

Such questions as these fill the minds of many Indians who desire to see a new state of things for women and their answer is of the deepest interest to many others, foreigners, who yet have the welfare of India at heart. These latter, because, it may be, of years of honest purpose and genuine effort, have now a real stake in the destiny and happiness of India and especially of her women. To see widespread movements towards change would be the fulfilment of their heart's wish and the sufficient reward of their labour. The mental and spiritual quality of India's women does, in their belief, carry in it a promise that the future holds great gifts for them. Blessed are the meek for they shall inherit the earth.

An attempt to answer in some measure the questions asked above will be made in another article.

ANNA ROSS MACIVOR.

## THE POETRY OF EXILE.

BY NICOL MACNICOL, D. LITT.

MANY a one has tried to discover and to reveal in a sentence the secret of poetry,—and has failed. I do not propose to make an obscure addition to the failures. I do not claim that the sense of exile holds in itself the sole secret of all poetic inspiration. I know that the poet has a range of music far wider than can be encompassed within these limits. He may pipe upon a penny whistle or he may use the organ of Abt Vogler. “*Quicquid agunt homines*,”—everything that touches human life in its infinite variety,—is transmutable into what we call poetry. It may take the form of a nursery rhyme or it may take the form of an epic. Who will say what wandering wind among the reeds will awaken the eternal harmonies? Poetry cannot be confined within the four corners of any formula, and it is only a German professor who would attempt to do so. But it is permissible to one to make use of a single aspect of life as a clue to the variety of poetical expression, and that is the use that I propose to make of the sense of exile. It seems to me that the desires that centre round this feeling have expressed themselves with extraordinary richness and beauty in the poetry of every race. No one who thinks and feels can fail to be aware,—in all ages and in all lands men have been aware,—that there is a harsh and distressing dissonance in the universe from which it is man’s deepest desire to escape to some region of harmony. In this lies the impulse that sets men seeking Beauty,—“the divine Beauty,” as Plato calls it, “pure, clear and unalloyed, not clogged with the pollutions of mortality.” And poetry leads man to the land of desire where that Beauty has its

home. Poetry is thus, to use the imaginative language of another poet,

"The hand that wrings,  
Bruised albeit at the strings,  
Music from the soul of things."

"It is the pang of separation," says Sir Rabindranath Tagore, "that spreads throughout the world and gives birth to shapes innumerable in the infinite sky. It is this sorrow of separation that gazes in silence from star to star and becomes lyric among rustling leaves in rainy darkness of July. It is this overspreading pain that deepens into loves and desires, into sufferings and joys in human homes ; and this it is that ever melts and flows in song through my poet's heart." To overcome the discords, to reveal the harmony, to travel back on the long trail from exile to the land of heart's desire,—that is one of the deepest motives that inspires poetry and music. "Man," says G. K. Chesterton, "has not only lost his way ; he has lost his address." It is this man so lost, this *homo desideriorum*, seeking his way home from a strange land, whose track I wish to follow here and there in the poetry of the world.

The simplest of these tracks and the plainest to see is that which has been trodden by the literal exiles and wanderers, by Ulysses, far away from Ithaca, and "for ever climbing up the climbing wave," by Ruth, when "sick for home, She stood in tears amid the alien corn," by Dante, when he had proof "How savoureth of salt the bread of others and how hard a road the going down and up another's stairs," by Robert Louis Stevenson in Samoa, remembering Edinburgh street lamps and longing for the time when it could be said of him, "Home is the sailor, home from the sea, And the hunter home from the hill." There is no country I know of,—unless perhaps India, that has not awakened passionate sentiments of affection in its children, especially when they are far away from it. No country except India, for in the case of India there is, as far as I

know, in her literature no such expression of devotion to the soil of the land. It is a land too vast, too harsh, perhaps, and terrible, to win this love, and its place has been taken in the case of this people by the longing, deeper in them than in almost any other race, for a remoter *patria*. England, and still more Scotland, is small enough for one to love, but even so it is most commonly some particular place, some specially remembered scene, that binds the heart.

Four ducks on a pond,  
A grass-bank beyond,  
A blue sky of spring,  
White clouds on the wing,  
What a little thing,  
To remember for years,  
To remember with tears.

It is not *Rule Britannia* or *Scots Wha Hae* that expresses the secret of England or of Scotland, as that secret is hid in the heart of the exiles beyond the seven seas. It is often something that stirs a personal memory or carries a private symbolism within it and wakens an unforgotten music. It may be "a shieling on a misty island" that does this for us,

"Grey, recumbent tombs of the dead in desert places,  
Standing-stones on the vacant, wine-red moor,  
Hills of sheep and the howes of the silent, vanished races,"  
or it may be some "dim, green, well-remembered isle," but, whatever it be, it opens windows for us and unseals fountains. "Our nation," says Quiller Couch, "ever cuts down through the strata for its well-springs and intensifies upon that which is comprised for us in a single, easy word, Home. It is the minor poets, I think, that we must resort to, to express for us this local and intimate patriotism. Shakespeare had no local habitation, though,—for there was nothing he could not do,—he could rant of England with the best. Milton's soul needed the whole land for its dwelling place and even so overflowed to Paradise. Browning was not so much of a citizen of the world as to forget the call of the thrush's song in an English spring; Edmund Spenser looking across the Irish Sea from his exile felt his

own land, as he says, to be "dearly dear ;" and all Florence's offences could not quench the desire of Dante to return and rest again upon her "most sweet bosom." But after all it is, perhaps, as I have said, to the lesser poets that we must turn for the full savour of this longing, to Sheriff Nicholson, thinking of his own Isle of Skye and its people,—

Blessing upon you both now and aye,  
Dear human creatures !  
Yours is the love that no gold can buy,  
Nor time can wither.  
Peace be with thee and thy children, O Skye,  
Dearest of islands ;

or Neil Munro dreaming of the heather hills of Inverary,—

If I were king of France, that noble, fine land,  
And the gold were elbow deep within my chests,  
And my castles stood in rows along the wine land,  
With towers as high as where the eagle nests ;  
If harpers sweet and swordsmen, stout and vaunting,  
My history sung, my stainless tartan wore,  
Were not my fortune poor with one thing wanting,  
The heather at my door ;

or T. E. Brown of his native Isle of Man :

I'm here at Clifton grinding at the mill,  
My feet for thrice three weary years have trod,  
But there are rocks and waves in Scarlett still,  
And gorse runs riot in Glen Chass, thank God ;

or,—if indeed he is a minor poet,—Rupert Brooke remembering Grantchester :

God ! I will pack and take a train,  
And get me to England once again !  
For England's the one land I know  
Where men with splendid hearts may go.  
For Grantchester ! ah Grantchester !  
There's peace and holy quiet there,  
Great clouds along pacific skies,  
And men and women with straight eyes,  
Little children, lovelier than a dream,  
A bosky wood, a slumberous stream,  
And little, kindly winds that creep,  
Round twilight corners, half asleep.  
Ah God ! to see the branches stir  
Across the moon at Grantchester.

There are passages enough—and memorable passages—of that kind in English literature to keep us quoting till morning, but it is not my purpose to supply material for a St. Andrew's Day after-dinner speech. I want rather to ask in regard to all such passages, what the real spring of the poetry in them is. What makes it a moving thing to hear,

O Brignall banks are wild and fair,  
And Greta woods are green !

What is it that makes some streams, say, the Tummel or the Garry, healing to our souls rather than Ahaba and Pharpar, rivers of Syria? Surely it is because heaven and home are always kindred points. It is because certain places come down the long road of memory from our childhood, trailing clouds of glory. The place may be called Jerusalem, or the "banks and braes of Bonnie Doon," or Innisfree or merely Tipperary, but, whatever its earthly name may be, it is always in reality the Celestial City. It suggests to us without our knowing it, hopes that travel far beyond it; it awakens unuttered longings that cannot be satisfied except upon the breast of God. Just because these desires are buried deep within us the names of places that we love awaken echoes that reach far beyond them in our unfathomed hearts. The poet of all poets who held the secret of these longings was Virgil and his works are full of cries that wander through eternity. The picture of hands stretched out in unavailing petition and appeal appears again and again in his poems. There is Eurydice, snatched back into darkness from the very threshold of light and love and crying. "I am snatched away engulfed in the vast night, and stretching out to thee,—I alas, no longer thine—unavailing hands." These helpless, outstretched hands make their appeal again when the disembodied souls beg to be borne across the Styx. "Tendebantque manus ripae ulterioris amore." (They were stretching out their hands in longing for the other bank.) It is these sorrowful

desires,—this sense of the world's incompleteness and unrest,—that makes Virgil so worthy to lead Dante to the very threshold of Paradise, but to lead him no further. He knows "the heartache at the heart of things." "Sunt lacrimae rerum et mentem mortalia tangunt." For what touches the heart and calls forth tears as one contemplates the lot of man is his unquenched thirst. "Thou hast set eternity in his heart."

The desire of the moth for the star,  
Of the night for the morrow,  
The devotion to something afar  
From the sphere of our sorrow.

No one since Virgil felt this as Shelley felt it. No one was so completely as he was an exile in what Blake calls "this vegetable world." He has lost his way in what he himself describes as "this wide, grey, lampless, deep unpeopled world." Or again, to turn to another modern Virgilian, Mathew Arnold, man is "enised" in the midst of the "unplumbed, salt, estranging sea." He sees around him "deserts of vast eternity." He wants to get home, to reach some known haven in an inhospitable universe, and so his heart harks back to some place of early memory and affection.

The same mood of exile and desire for home reveals itself in the form of another poetical motif,—the coming together of two hearts. The desire for unity, for the breaking down of the barriers of mortality till the One alone remains, has been throughout all its history the supreme thirst of India, and the same desire allures men's hearts in every land.

If any two hearts grew into one  
They would do more than the world has done.

I recall a rhyme from an old journal of philosophy, read I do not like to think how many years ago, which describes this goal so hard to reach.

For only where the one is twain,  
And where the two are one again,  
Will truth no more be sought in vain.

And not only truth but blessedness. "The lowing herd winding slowly o'er the lea," the homing swallow, the swan of Kabir,—

(Tell me O swan, your ancient tale,  
From what land do you come, O swan ? to what shore will  
you fly ?

Where could you take your rest, O swan, and what do you  
seek ?)

these have their beauty and draw out the poet in us just because they symbolise to us the long pilgrimage which we all are making to "the place of fulfilment of craving," to the land of attainment and of peace. And every rapture in life or in literature comes from some momentary glimpse of such attainment. I know nothing in art (not that I know anything of art worth speaking of) to compare in its delineation of that joyous consummation with Blake's picture which he calls the coming together of Soul and Body. When the walls of isolation fall, and lover and beloved mingle into one, then all human striving has attained at last its crown.

There is no need to illustrate this statement with any fulness for we are now at the head waters of all poetry. The despairs and hopes that gather here, the gnawing ardour of desire and the rapture of possession, form the very material out of which are woven "the heaven's embroidered cloths," "the blue and the dim and the dark cloths." Shelley is of all English poets the one who expresses most frequently and most poignantly this sense of the exile of the heart. This is for him the secret of the whole universe and its utterance is the burden of every song. "We are born into the world," he says, expounding his own doctrine, "and there is something within us which, from the instant we live and move, thirsts after its likeness. . . . Hence in solitude or in that deserted state when we are surrounded by human beings and yet they sympathise not with us, we love the flowers and the grass and the waters and the sky. In the motion

of the very leaves of spring, in the blue air, there is found a secret correspondence with our heart which awakens our spirits to a dance of breathless rapture and brings tears of mysterious tenderness to the eyes, like the enthusiasm of patriotic success or the voice of one beloved singing to you alone. Sterne says that if he were in a desert he would love some cypress. So soon as this want or power is dead, man becomes the living sepulchre of himself and what still survives is the mere wreck of what he was." Shelley chooses as a motto to express this thirst the words of St. Augustine, "Quaerebam quid amarem, amans amare."

But the poetry of the heart in exile does not always express itself in these unsatisfied and despairing longings. Sometimes in a golden hour the goal is reached. We shall not, however, find this joy of attainment finding utterance in Shelley's verse. I know no single line which expresses it with more satisfying completeness than one in Shakespeare's *Cymbeline*, when Imogen, lost and found again, casts herself upon the breast of her husband and he cries, "Hang there like fruit, my soul, till the tree dies." Or shall we choose instead that simple sentence of the *Vita Nuova* where Dante says of Beatrice "Whosoever she appeared before me I had no enemy left on earth"! Or Clough's picture of the meeting together of the two halves of a bridge, symbolising two lives,—

Sometimes I dream of a great invisible hand coming down, and  
Dropping the great key stone in the middle ;  
so that " all the other stones of the archway  
Joined into mine with a strange, happy sense of completeness."

Or Browning coming forth on the unseen side of his " moon of poets," amid the

Silent silver lights and darks undreamed of,  
Where I hush and bless myself with silence.

These are all attempts to describe this great attainment and there is no end to the number of them that we might

choose from poets new and old, for there is no joy of earth to compare with this home-coming from exile. In this even more articulately than in the first group of our selections sounds what Kabir calls the "unstruck music," that which Lorenzo and Jessica heard as they sat in the moonlight listening to the "young-eyed cherubim." We have travelled on a winding road, perhaps, but it winds uphill all the way. From Tipperary or from that remembered duck-pond the road leads by many a thorp and town and through some dark and desert places till it brings us at last, or may bring us "to God's bosom, a land unknown." I said that India does not seem to have felt the local patriotism of those who love some spot of earth with a love that transforms it into a symbol of the celestial city. But no people have followed so strait a path or one so bare of earthly beauty to so remote a goal, as the seers from among the people of this land. I do not propose to lead you to-night through the desert places by which they have travelled to that far region of thin air. These world-renouncers are compelled for the most part to renounce poetry, as they turn away from the colour and the joy of life. Their music is for the most part played, as one of them says, on a stringless lute. Yet it has its own beauty and its own appeal, and their poet-saints, fallen upon the world's great altar stairs are, if we could only see them through the Indian shadows, among the most austere and passionate of all those climbing spirits.

But there are many others for whom heaven is a less dim and silent land and who have climbed towards it with less heavy hearts. From Dante to Francis Thompson the list is long and splendid of those who have not only travelled but arrived, who, in one language or another, testify with the Hebrew poet, "I shall be satisfied, when I awake with Thy likeness." Perhaps the deepest sentence ever written outside of Holy Scripture, and that which describes the widest range of human experience is that

familiar one of St. Augustine, "Thou hast made us, O Lord, for Thyself and our hearts are ever restless till they rest in thee." It holds in it the secret of every religion and of most poetry. Dante has described for all time its triumphant realisation in the closing lines of his "Paradise,"—

Then like a wheel that neither stops nor swerves  
My will revolved about the will of God,  
The will that moves the sun and every star.

Wordsworth was more continually aware than most poets of the desired Presence "whose dwelling is the light of setting suns." Emily Bronte at the close of her brief life of tragedy could say

No coward soul is mine,  
No trembler in the world's storm troubled sphere ;  
I see Heaven's glories shine,  
And faith shines equal, arming me from fear.

And William Blake in his amazing imaginative course, "amid the stars of God and the abysses of the accuser," had, we know, many visions opening into eternity. He was one to whom "heaven opens on all sides her golden gates." Two verses of his may be taken as summing up this long travail of the *homo desideriorum*, aspiring, striving, ever unsatisfied.

O Sunflower, weary of times,  
Who countest the steps of the sun,  
Seeking after that sweet, golden clime,  
Where the traveller's journey is done.  
  
Where the youth, pined away with desire,  
And the pale virgin shrouded in snow,  
Arise from their graves and aspire,  
Where my Sunflower wishes to go.

Thus the poet in all times and lands is the pilot that sets the course for us common men who have no skill in that navigation, across what Plato calls the wide sea of beauty : he is the "interpreter and mediator" between God and man. And the exile longing for his native land, and the lad for his lass are "moved by thoughts beyond the

reaches of their souls." He who is not moved by such thoughts is "tame in earth's paddock as her prize." It is a poor narrow life that has no such vistas. By this alchemy, loss becomes gain, the shutting of doors becomes the opening of windows. What I mean let me suggest, and no more, by these lines of Mrs. Meynell :

Although my life is left so dim  
The morning crowns the mountain rim ;  
    Joy is not gone from summer skies,  
    Nor innocence from children's eves,  
    And all these things are part of him ;

or by these more mystical lines of Emerson :

If thou love her as thyself,  
As a self of purer clay ;  
If her parting dim the day,  
Stealing grace from all alive ;  
Heartily know, when half gods go,  
The gods arrive.

Man is a wanderer from his birth, a voyager on the great deep. There is no more moving passage that I know of in the literature of recent years than the closing chapter of Morley's *Recollections*. It shows us this aged statesman and man of letters, rich as few men have been in the wisdom of experience and reflection, standing baffled and still questioning at the close of a long life that had been full of questioning. It is evening and the distant bells waken in him vague yearnings, till, as he says, "visions rise and change that kill us with desire." No door opens to him. The secret a secret remains, "impossible for human faculty to find out." "So," he says, "to my home in the falling daylight." But no, not to his home ; he remains an exile. Is that where we must be content to leave man, asking sorrowful and unanswered questions, stretching out his hands in vain longing for the further bank ? Or is there, though he may have missed it, a way home ?

NICOL MACNICOL.

*Poona.*

## SIR WALTER SCOTT'S INDIAN NOVEL "THE SURGEON'S DAUGHTER."

BY P. R. KRISHNASWAMI, M.A.

EVER since the inauguration of English education in India, and even from the time of the earliest English settlements in various places of India, an indissoluble tie has been established between India and English literature. English literature has ever since been eagerly absorbed in India, and alongside of this another significant process has gone on. It is the absorption of India in English literature. From the time of almost the earliest European voyagers who returned from India to the West, English literary works in poetry, drama, or in prose have contained some allusion or other to India. The gold and wealth of India were naturally the only objects that at first filled the imagination of the poets. In Marlowe's *Tamburlane* we read :—

Men from the farthest equinoctial line  
Have swarmed in troops into Eastern India  
Lading their ships with gold and precious stone  
And made their spoils from all our provinces.

In the same work is a prophecy of the Suez Canal :—

Then marched I into Egypt and Arabia,  
And here not far from Alexandria,  
Where as the Terrene and the Red Sea meet,  
Being distant less than a hundred leagues,  
I meant to cut a channel to them both  
That men might quickly sail to India.

In Shakespeare's *K. Henry IV* Mortimer speaks of Prince Hal as—

as bountiful  
As mines of India.

In *Twelfth Night* Sir Toby greets Maria,

“ How now, my metal of India.” •

Milton has many references to India. The splendour of Satan's regal pomp reminds him of—

the wealth of Ormuz or of Ind,  
Or where the gorgeous East with richest hand  
Shows on her kings barbaric pearl and gold.

In another place he has vision of a trading fleet from India :—

As when afar off at sea a fleet descried  
Hangs in the clouds, by equinoctial winds  
Close sailing from Bengala, or the isles  
Of Ternate and Tidore, whence merchants bring  
Their spicy drugs.

There is also a long passage about the Indian banyan tree in *Paradise Lost*, Book IX :—

The fig tree—not that kind for fruit renowned,  
But such as at this day, to Indians known,  
In Malabar or Deccan spreads her arms,  
Branching so broad and long that in the ground  
The bending twigs take root, and daughters grow  
About the mother tree, a pillared shade  
High over-arched, and echoing walks between ;  
There oft the Indian herdsman, shunning heat,  
Shelters in cool, and tends his pasturing herds  
At loop-holes cut through thickest shade.

Dryden wrote one of his pompous heroic tragedies on Aurangzebe who was then the living Moghul emperor of India. References to India in the eighteenth century literature are abundant. The relations between India and England had assumed the strong tie of mutually involved political destinies. Cowper asks in his “ Task ” :—

Is India free ? and does she wear her plumed  
And jewell'd turban with a smile of peace,  
Or do we grind her still ?

Moore wrote his greatest poem, *Lalla Rookh*, to sing the glories of the vale of Cashmere. Southey placed his

"Curse of Kehama," one of his best poems, in the historic background of Mahabalipuram.

After such an enumeration it may not seem surprising that Sir Walter Scott, the most imaginative of novelists, and no mean master of historical fiction, places his "Surgeon's Daughter" in the background of an exciting period of South Indian history.

Sir Walter Scott conceived his historical novels in no careless spirit. On the other hand we have on record that he spared no industry to make his fictitious narratives reflect faithfully the historical facts of the past. In writing "Quentin Durward" the "accurate and lively journal" with a vast variety of clever drawings produced by Mr. Skene on his return from a tour in France was fully utilised.<sup>1</sup> Lockhart tells us further that he had observed Scott "many times in the Advocates' Library poring over maps and gazetteers with care and anxiety." It is well known that the picture of Louis XI is historically a most precious performance. The description again of the Battle of Flodden in "Marmion" has struck its readers with its historical accuracy. We may therefore presume that the "Surgeon's Daughter" would not have been written without a sound historical basis underlying it.

Unfortunately for us Lockhart dismisses the novel with a very few words, observing that the Indian portion of the story is ill harmonised with the rest of it. In another place he gives the information that the picture of Gideon Gray, the popular and venerated country doctor in the novel, reproduces many of the excellent qualities which belonged to Dr. Ebenezer Clarkson of Selkirk. Beyond this Lockhart is silent and he does not try to speak of Scott's interests in India at all to the extent they may have been utilised in the "Surgeon's Daughter."

Another important critic to whom we may refer here, is Andrew Lang who wrote an introduction to the novel

<sup>1</sup> Lockhart's "Life of Sir Walter Scott" .

in the Border edition of the *Waverley* series in 1894. Andrew Lang presumably knew little of Indian history of the past and is satisfied to quote Lockhart's verdict on the incongruity between the Scotch and Indian portions of the novel. There is no more incongruity in the novel than there can be in the idea of Scotchmen and Scotchwomen, after living in their native country till after the period of youth, going to India to be amidst strange surroundings and exciting circumstances. Lang remarks that Scott did not possess the direct intimacy with India which Kipling possesses. But he has not obviously the least idea of the remarkable faithfulness with which Scott wove such of the absolutely reliable historical material as reached him in Edinburgh into his romance. Lang again thinks that the Begum Montreville typifies the European adventuress in the East. The fact is there is hardly any prominent European adventuress in the entire annals of the British in the East. As will be shown by the present writer here, Scott's original for Begum Montreville was undoubtedly Begum Sumroo who was of Muhammadan origin and who married a Frenchman or German, and later, after his death, another Frenchman.

With reference to Scott's intimacy with India, we may note that he was very near sending his second son, Charles, to serve in the East India Company in 1820. Such an appointment had been looked to as highly lucrative.<sup>2</sup> The "Surgeon's Daughter" was published in 1827. The association formed in the novel with Bangalore and with tigers in the jungle, acquires for the reader a touch of tragic irony when taken together with the career of Scott's eldest son, who proceeded to Madras in 1839 as an officer in the Hussars. "Sir Walter having unwisely exposed himself in a tiger hunt in August 1846, was on his return to his quarters at Bangalore smitten with fever, which ended in liver disease. He was ordered to proceed to England, and died near the

\* Lockhart's, "Life of Scott."

Cape of Good Hope on board the ship *Wellesley*, February the 8th, 1847." <sup>3</sup>

Sir Walter Scott was linked to India through many of his intimate friends. John Leyden who had collaborated with him in the *Minstrelsy of the Scotch Border* sailed for Madras in 1802, after qualifying himself for it, as a surgeon in the service of the East India Company. Reginald Heber whom Scott first met at Oxford in 1803 left for India as bishop of Calcutta in 1822 and died in Trichinopoly in 1826.

It was undoubtedly a hard task to have ventured to weave a story in the setting of the peculiarly undefinable relations and circumstances in which the British settlement at Fort St. George stood towards the Indian chiefs in the country in the eighteenth century. In Mr. Croftangry's conclusion at the end of the novel, Scott narrates the following colloquy :--

" How could you, Mr. Croftangry, collect all these hard words about India? -- you were never there."

" No madam, I have not had the advantage, but, like the imitative operatives of Paisley, I have composed my shawl by incorporating into the woof a little Tibet wool, which my friend and neighbour, Colonel Mackeriss, one of the best fellows who ever trod a highland moor or dived into an Indian jungle, had the goodness to supply me with." In the Introduction which Scott prefixed to the novel in 1831 he explains that Colonel Mackeriss was his friend James Ferguson of Huntley Burn, one of the sons of the venerable historian and philosopher of that name. It is difficult to trace the part played by this Colonel in Indian history. Though Scott has offered a simple explanation of his indebtedness to him, we need not take him seriously but may proceed independently of his assurance in our investigation.

Of the historical importance of the period covered by the "Surgeon's Daughter," L. B. Bowring, Chief Commissioner of Mysore, writing in 1893 on " Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultan,"

<sup>3</sup> Lockhart's "Life of Scott."

begins his book with the following sentence :—“ The terrible uprising in India, 1857, commonly called the Mutiny, has to some extent obliterated the recollection of previous events in that country ; but two generations ago most people had heard of the siege of Seringapatam, while readers of the Waverley Novels were familiar with the slight story called the ‘ Surgeon’s Daughter.’ In both cases the scene lay in that part of India now known as Mysore which was the cradle of one of the most daring and successful adventurers recorded in the annals of the East, and perhaps the most formidable adversary whom the British ever encountered in that region.” The public interest in England in Hyder Ali seems to have been of the nature of a widespread sensation, for the Squire Hardcastle in Goldsmith’s *Good-Natured Man* says : “ I no more trouble my head about who’s in or who’s out than I do about Hyder Ally or Ally Cawn, than about Ally Croaker.”

The story of the novel may be briefly told here, and we may neglect the Scotch portion of it, and note the chief incidents in the Indian portion. Richard Middlemas and Adam Hartley are two young medical assistants under Gideon Gray, a popular country doctor, who is the father of Menie Gray, with whom both the young men fall in love. Miss Menie Gray returns the love of Middlemas, but he cherishes ambitious schemes of a career among the “ pagoda trees ” of India, preventing him from marrying and settling in Scotland. Hartley also decides to leave for India as he is crossed in love. Both the young men arrive at Fort St. George. Richard is a captain in the army, but fighting a duel with his commanding officer and killing him, has to leave Madras to escape punishment. He then attaches himself to the Begum Montreville who is an odd Amazon leading an army, and an ally of Haidar Ally. Richard is appointed the Bakshi (commander) of her army. The Begum wishes to promote her interest with Tipu who

## *Sir Walter Scott's Indian Novel*

was left in charge of Bangalore by his father, by inducing Richard to get Miss Menie Gray from Scotland, on false pretences of marriage, that she may be made a present to Tipu's harem. When Menie Gray arrives in Madras, Hartley sees her at a social party with the Begum and visits her the next day. The chaperonage of the notorious Begum fills him with misgivings and he tries to persuade Menie to abandon her and be free in honourable company. Menie realises the intended treachery towards her too late and then manages to send word about it to Hartley. Hartley is unable to intercept the departure of the Begum with Menie from Madras, owing to the dilatoriness of Paupiah, the chief Dubash of the Governor of Madras, who was an unscrupulous officer. Hartley then resolves to leave for the court of Haidar to get deliverance for Menie. He is encouraged in this specially because of his having won, through his medical offices, the regard and friendship of an influential *fakir* who had lived some time in Madras, and who promised Hartley great influence with Haidar if ever Hartley should have anything to get from him. In his journey to Seringapatam, Haidar's capital, Hartley gets the protection of the guard of a vakeel or political agent proceeding from the Government of Madras to see Haidar on a diplomatic mission. In Seringapatam Hartley gains an interview with his former friend in Madras, Barak el Hadgi, who however lets Hartley present his suit to another white-bearded priest to whom Barak owes implicit obedience. The priest promises intercession on Hartley's behalf to rescue Menie Gray. Hartley and the vakeel are then ordered to proceed to Bangalore. The vakeel had been treated with scant courtesy under Haidar's orders. In Bangalore occurs a pompous meeting between Tipu and the vice-regent of Bangalore and the Begum Montreville. In a brilliant Durbar Tipu confers the governorship of Bangalore on Middlemas and the Begum in return prayed "His Highness would deign to accept a lily from Feringistan to

plant within the recesses of the secret garden of his pleasures." In the very middle of the Durbar the dissentient voice arises : "Cursed is the prince who barters justice for lust ! He shall die in the gate by the sword of the stranger." The voice is traced to a *fakir* who is no other than the venerable old priest Hartley had met in the company of Barak at Seringapatam. Before Tipu's officers could lay hold on him, he throws off his beard and discovers himself to the astonishment of everybody as Haidar Ali Khan, Bahadur, himself. Richard Middlemas is by his order stamped to death under the feet of an elephant. Hartley returns to Madras with Menie Gray whom he however does not marry. She returns home, and Hartley dies in Madras a couple of years later.

We may now retrace the story with a view to discovering the known historical evidences underlying it. From the first suggestion in the minds of the young men to take service in India it seems obvious that Scott is constructing the novel on a number of real episodes of British life in India. Of Hartley's first appointment to the service of the <sup>East</sup> India Company, Scott tells us, "The Court of the Directors sent down to the island several of their medical assistants, among whom was Hartley, whose qualifications had been amply certified by a medical board, before which he had passed an examination, besides possessing a diploma from the University of Edinburgh as M.D." In the *Vestiges of Old Madras* we learn of a resolution of the Madras Government in 1775 "that all Surgeons' assistants in future be properly examined before they are admitted into the line of surgeons."<sup>5</sup> We may also note here that Scott should have remembered vividly the struggle of Leyden to qualify for service in India. In his case, though he was passed for an appointment, after a period spent by him at Edinburgh University, he was unable to get a degree from it, which, however, he procured from somewhere else.

We may consider here the important character of the influential *fakir* whose friendship Hartley won in Madras by his medical offices. Barak el Hadgi lived at the tomb of Owliah or Cara Razi, one *coss* from Fort St. George. The Madras Government sent Hartley for his medical treatment.

Cara Razi or the Owliah is described by Scott as the "Muhammadan saint and doctor." "Razi" is the literary name of a famous physician of Turkish Arabia who seems to have been devoted to philosophy, music, medicine and philology.<sup>6</sup>

The tomb of the Owliah can be no other than that of Tipu Mastan Auliah at Arcot bearing the date 1729. Tipu himself was named after this Mussalman devotee for whom Haidar had a special veneration.<sup>7</sup>

Barak el Hadji, so whose medical treatment the Madras Government was so solicitous as not only to secure a competent doctor but also to become his paymaster, can be better than a reputed vakeel or political agent that Haidar had at Fort St. George. He is described in the "Vicissitudes of Fort St. George" by D. Leighton in the following words: "He (Haidar) had a vakeel to represent him at the President, a highly intelligent Mussalman who had the *entree* ever since, was on terms of intimacy with the Nabob, treated with deference at Government House, well-informed as to the condition of both the Nabob's and the Company's troops, and familiar with passing events." That Haidar's vakeel should be in the garb of a *fakir* need not surprise us at all. It was most frequent in those times to employ *fakirs* and religious mendicants as political spies and agents.<sup>8</sup> In his attack on the Polegar of Chitaldrug, Haidar found means, Bowring tells us, to corrupt the Muhammadan

<sup>6</sup> Balfour's "Cyclopaedia of India"

<sup>7</sup> Bowring: Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultan, p. 117.

<sup>8</sup> Page 159.

<sup>9</sup> The Madras Government itself on one occasion sent the Rev. Svartz to negotiate with Haidar Ali for peace.

army of the Pôlegar through the agency of a holy *fakir* who resided near the town.<sup>10</sup>

The host at the Madras breakfast party where Hartley beheld Miss Menie Gray is described as a gentleman high in the service justly attached to his quiet *hookah*, and it was said, to a pretty girl of colour. The following sentence, from Carey's "The Good Old Days of Hon'ble John Company"<sup>10</sup> describes the *hookah*-habit which was prevalent among the Anglo-Indians in earlier times and which did not die out till after 1840: "The *hookah* was the grand whiler away of time with our ancestors in Old Calcutta. East Indian ladies were said to have been much addicted to its fumes, while gentlemen, instead of their perusal of a paper 'furnishing the head with politics and the heart with scandal,' indulged themselves with the *hookah*'s fumes while under the hands of the *perruquier*, in the days when powder and pig-tails were in fashion."<sup>11</sup> The *hookah*-habit was shared by the highest among the Anglo-Indians, as is evidenced by an extant invitation from Mr. and Mrs. Warren Hastings to a party requesting the guests not to bring in any servants except the *hookah-burdars*.

We now come to the curious personality of the Begum Montreville who is as brilliant as she is odd. She is described in one place with reference to her history as follows: "She is the daughter of a Scotch emigrant, who lived and died at Pondicherry, a sergeant in Lally's regiment. She managed to marry a partisan officer named Montreville, a Swiss or Frenchman, I cannot tell which." A fuller account is given in another place: "This lady is the widow of a Swiss officer in the French service, who after the surrender of Pondicherry went off into the interior, and commenced soldier on his own account. He got possession of a fort, under the pretence of keeping it for

some simple Rajah or other, assembled around him a parcel of desperate vagabonds, of every colour in the rainbow, occupied a considerable territory of which he raised the duties in his own name, and declared for independence." Of the prominent place the Begum occupied in society, mention is made ; "She leaves her court when she pleases and has been as far as Fort St. George before now. In a word she does pretty much as she likes. The great folks here are civil to her, though they look on her as little better than a spy."

We have the instance of a Mrs. Frances Johnson who lived as a grand old lady in Calcutta for many years. She was known as the "Begum Johnson" and her table was frequented by the people of the highest rank, including the Governor-General. Her father was long second in council at Fort St. David (12 miles to the south of Pondicherry) and she was the mother-in-law of a peer. She was born in 1725 and died in 1812. But Mrs. Frances Johnson except for being known as "Begum" and playing the *rôle* of a grand lady has nothing whatever in common with the cool unscrupulous villainy of Begum Montreville.

A much more probable or rather the undoubtable original is however found in the Begum Sumroo. Her husband, Walter Reinhardt, fits in exactly with Scott's Montreville.<sup>11</sup> He was a native of Treve, in the Duchy of Luxembourg, half French, half German, and had been a sailor in the French navy ; he deserted and entered the British service as a soldier ; next, he deserted the British and joined the French ; then he entered the service of the Nawab of Bengal, and was the murderer of the English Resident at Patna and all his followers in 1763. He obtained the command of a large body of men, with lands to support them and some years afterwards he

<sup>11</sup> Carey.

<sup>12</sup> Balfour's "Cyclopaedia of India."

married the Begum. Sleeman describes Reinhardt in his "Rambles and Recollections": "He enlisted as a private soldier in the French service and came to India where he entered the service of the East India Company, and rose to the rank of a sergeant."

A portrait of the Begum Sumroo appears as the frontispiece in *Hindustan under Free Lances* by H. G. Keene. Sleeman says of her: "The Begum Sombre was by birth a Saiyadani, or lineal descendant from Muhammad, the founder of the Mussalman faith; and was united to Walter Reinhardt, when very young, by all the forms considered necessary by persons of her persuasion when married to men of another."<sup>14</sup> "She had uncommon sagacity and a masculine resolution; and Europeans and natives who were most intimate with her have told me that though a woman and of small stature her *ru'b* (dignity, or power of commanding personal respect) was greater than that of almost any person they had ever seen. From the time she put herself under the protection of the British Government in 1803, she by degrees adopted the European methods of social intercourse, appearing in public on an elephant, in a carriage, and occasionally on horseback with her hat and veil, and dining at table with gentlemen. She often entertained Governors-General and Commanders-in-Chief with all their retinues, and sat with them and their staff at table, etc., etc."<sup>15</sup> We also know that after Sombre's death she maintained a small army and ruled her petty state at Sirdhana with great vigour. During the Mahratta wars she led her troops into action, riding at their head very gallantly. In 1792 she married Colonel Vaisseau and died in 1836.<sup>16</sup>

When in reply to a threatening command from the Begum Montreville, "Let me hear, in two brief words,

<sup>14</sup> Page 268.

<sup>15</sup> Page 288.

<sup>16</sup> Balfour's "Cyclopaedia of India."

'that you leave this woman to my disposal,' Scott makes Middlemas say to her, "But not to be interred alive under your seat like the Circassian of whom you were jealous," there is an exact reference to a story narrated by Reginald Heber of the Begum Sumroo. "One of her dancing girls had offended her—how I have not heard. The Begum ordered the poor creature to be immured alive in a small vault prepared for the purpose, under the pavement of the saloon where the natch was then celebrating and being aware that her fate excited much sympathy and horror in the minds of the servants and soldiers of her palace, and apprehensive that they would open the tomb and rescue the victim as soon as her back was turned, she saw the vault bricked up before her eyes, then ordered her bed to be placed directly over it, and lay there for several nights, till the last faint moans had ceased to be heard, and she was convinced that hunger and despair had done their work."<sup>17</sup> We also owe to Heber a picture of her, drawn from personal knowledge: "She is a very little, queer-looking old woman, with brilliant but wicked eyes, and the remains of beauty in her features. She is possessed of considerable talent and readiness in conversation, but only speaks Hindustanee. Her soldiers and people, and the generality of the inhabitants of this neighbourhood pay her much respect, on account both of her supposed wisdom and courage."

When Adam Hartley sees Miss Menie Gray at the party in Madras he proceeds to inquire about her of the captain of the *Indiaman* who brought her, and he answers: "A good decent girl, and kept the mates and guinea-pigs at a respectable distance." We read in Mackintosh's Travels, in a letter addressed by a lady in India to her cousin at home in 1779: "I promise you, to me it was no slight penance to be exposed during the whole voyage to the half-sneering satirical looks of the mates and guinea-pigs, and it would have

been intolerable, but for the good conduct and politeness of Captain S." <sup>16</sup>

One of the principal details in the novel is that of Richard Middlemas seeking service under Haidar Ali's son through the friendly assistance of the Begum Montreville. There are but few instances in history of Britishers having served Haidar though a large number of Frenchmen did so. We know of two instances of British officers deserting to take service under Haidar. Lieutenant John Hitchcock, a young man, deserted in 1767 and went to Haidar's service.<sup>17</sup> Captain William Coulson was another officer who when in command of Chittaput, deserted with a party of four sergeants, four corporals, and 14 other Europeans and one Kaffre and 34 sepoys to serve Haidar.<sup>18</sup> But in making Middlemas an officer in Tipu's service, Scott probably only transferred the real instances of "gentlemen adventurers seeking service with the Nawab"<sup>19</sup> of Arcot, who however was treated as an ally by the British Government. Some of these British officers, it may be mentioned here, were suspected of acting treacherously towards the British interest. Another fact worth mentioning is that the Nawab of Arcot had at this time put his army under the command of his favourite son: "While the Nabob is entertaining these officers, he puts his army under the command of his son, Ameer ul Omrah, who appoints an English staff."<sup>20</sup>

The duel which Middlemas fought with his commanding officer reflects a very characteristic feature of the early Anglo-Indian life. We have, from the instance of the famous one between Warren Hastings and Sir Philip Francis downwards, quite a long list of duels recorded in the annals of the British settlements in India. With reference to the particular duel fought by Middlemas, which Scott tells us,

<sup>16</sup> Quoted in Carey's "The Good Old Days of Hon'ble John Company."

<sup>17</sup> Wilson's "Madras Army," Vol. I, p. 243.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.* p. 158.

<sup>19</sup> *Vestiges* III, p. 80.

<sup>20</sup> *Vestiges* III, p. 67, General Joseph Smith's Minute.

had made much noise at the time, the following details are given : "The result was a meeting in which after the parties had exchanged shots the seconds tendered their mediation. It was rejected by Middlemas, who, at the second fire, had the misfortune to kill his commanding officer." We may quote here a record of a rather similar duel between Lord Macartney and Sadleir in 1784 which, Colonel Love tells us, was an "occurrence doubtless much talked of at the time."<sup>23</sup> The following are extracts from the account of the duel : ". . . . the right of the first fire was determined by chance between the seconds and fell to Mr. Sadleir who accordingly fired ; the ball struck Lord Macartney on the ribs of the left side. . . . Mr. Sadleir remaining also on his ground, prepared to take his second fire. . . . . His Lordship's waistcoat being now unbuttoned and the effects of his wound becoming visible Major Grattan with the concurrence of Mr. Davidson declared that in his Lordship's present condition Mr. Sadleir should rest satisfied and that under such circumstances the matter could not be well pursued further. This declaration being heard by Mr. Sadleir while remaining on his ground was adopted by him and he, declaring he was satisfied, then quitted his ground."<sup>24</sup>

We now come to the interesting figure of Paupiah, chief Dubash to the Governor of Madras. Scott mentions in a footnote that the introduction of Paupiah is an anachronism. As will be seen later, the date of the action of the story should be about 1780. Paupiah, the notorious Dubash, served the brothers Hollands in 1789 and 1790. Scott lets us know of the great power possessed by him in the following speech of Paupiah ; " You speak at the risk of your head, if you deceive Paupiah or make Paupiah the means of deceiving his master." In another place Scott describes how Paupiah used to get rid of his possible

<sup>23</sup> *Vestiges* III, p. 225.

<sup>24</sup> Quoted from Barrow's "The Public Life of the Earl of Macartney," on p. 226, Vol III of the *Vestiges*. \*

opponents from the Presidency : "Hartley let his indignation betray him into reproaches against Paupiah in which his principal was not spared. This only served to give the impassable Brahmin a pretext for excluding him from the Residency, with a hint, that if his language continued to be of such imprudent character, he might expect to be removed from Madras and stationed at some hill-fort or village among the mountains, where his medical knowledge would find full exercise in protecting himself and others from the unhealthiness of the climate." We have the most interesting and illuminating account of Paupiah and his times in a little book printed at Madras in 1825, called "The Trial of Avadhanum Paupiah, Brahmin Dubash to John Holland, Esq., at the Quarter Sessions held at Fort St. George, July, 1792." As it was only two years later than the publication of this book that the "Surgeon's Daughter" was written, and from the details mentioned by Scott exactly corresponding to those of the Trial, we cannot but conclude that Scott must have read this interesting book. Paupiah was charged with, and convicted of, conspiring against Mr. Haliburton, member of the Board of Revenue and Persian Translator, and bringing about his being sent away from these high offices to be the paymaster of the forces at the unhealthy frontier station, Chanderghirry, where Mr. Haliburton complained that no medical officer was stationed. It was only in the time of the successor to the Hollands that Mr. Haliburton was able to get redress. In the Preface to the account of the Trial, Mr. Haliburton writes : "If the annexed trial had only related to the conspiracy against my character, I should have been satisfied with the verdict, which, in convicting the culprits, manifested the injustice and malignity of my persecutors : nor should I have thought a relation of the sufferings of an individual of sufficient support to occupy the public time, unless (as in the present case) the detail of those sufferings led, not only to the exposition of characters which occasioned them, but a knowledge

of the unprincipled audacity of the natives of India, when under the patronage of men in power: and tend to guard all persons who may hereafter hold high and responsible situations under the honourable company, against the wily wickedness of Dubashes, who have heretofore had no inconsiderable an influence over men in station in this Presidency." Paupiah was long so dreaded for his power that Haliburton complains: "While his inimical disposition to me was so notorious, no one native would have dared to come forward in my behalf."

We next pass on to an unmistakable historical episode of the British vakeel who went to the court of Haidar Ali, and under whose protection Hartley performed his own journey to Seringapatam. Scott tells us that the Madras vakeel was in Haidar's capital "in a great bustle preparing to obey directions transmitted to him by the Nawab's Dewan or treasurer directing him to depart the next morning with break of day for Bangalore." Before the Madras vakeel returns to Madras, Haidar Ali dismisses him in the novel with the following words: "You have brought to me words of peace while your masters meditated a treacherous war."

Mr. George Gray was actually sent up from Madras in 1780 to intercede with Haidar on behalf of a number of English passengers to India who had been made prisoners by his orders in a Danish ship seized at Calicut.<sup>25</sup> The following letter addressed by Mr. George Gray<sup>26</sup> to the Madras Government will be a sufficient commentary on Scott's story:—

"The Nawab Hyder Ally Khan had of his own accord liberated the gentlemen whose enlargement I was directed to solicit, so that it only remained for me to return him thanks for the friendly manner in which he had dismissed them and provided for their journey through his country.

<sup>25</sup> *Vestiges*, Vol. III, p. 147.

<sup>26</sup> It is not unlikely that "George Gray" suggested the name Gideon Gray given by Scott to the Surgeon in the novel, the father of Menie.

When I had done this I took occasion at the same time to express to the Nabob sentiments of regard and friendship which the Government of Fort St. George and the English nation in general entertain'd towards His Highness : but I am sorry to say that my professions on that subject did not meet with the reception which I hoped, for they were answered with reproaches of repeated breaches of faith, and the English nation was taxed with a positive breach of treaty. Notwithstanding this unpleasant manifestation of the Nabob's sentiments, I continued at Seringapatam in hopes of finding some favourable opportunity of an explanation but I was completely disappointed, for he never permitted me to visit him again till the 19th March when he sent for me purposely to give me an audience of Leave.

" I have to observe that my reception at the Court of Seringapatam was neither friendly nor respectful : a few instances of politeness were over-balanced by many more of inattention and slight, and I will venture to say that the latter had the appearance of being evidently marked " (dated the 1st April 1780).

Seringapatam itself, the capital of Haidar, was a very interesting city. When Hartley arrived there Scott tells us " that he consumed no time in viewing the temple of the celebrated Vishnoo ; or in surveying the splendid gardens called Loll Baug which was the monument of Haidar's magnificence and now hold his mortal remains." Bowring tells us : " A few wretched houses only remain where once was a great capital, and the ancient temple of Vishnu looks down, as if in mockery, on the ruins of the Muhammadan usurper." At Lal Bagh are interred the remains of both Haidar Ali and his son.

We may now stop to consider Haidar Ali dispensing justice in the manner of the good old Haroun al Rashid.

<sup>27</sup> A detailed account of the treatment accorded to Gray is given in " South of India " by Wilkes.

Hartley sees him disguised as the superior of the convent where Barak was. We are not able to discover any instances in history of Haidar playing the part of Haroun al Rashid. We cannot however doubt the possibility of Haidar assuming disguises to suit any of his purposes. Once, from a disastrous engagement at Melukote with the Mahrattas, Haidar escaped alone and unattended to Serin-gapatam, a distance of eleven miles, and was soon after followed by Tipu in the disguise of a *fakir* or mendicant.<sup>28</sup> Of Haidar's general qualities we may quote a couple of sentences from Bowring: "He is said to have been accessible to all and to have conversed with great readiness." "In matters of business his shrewdness and capacity were remarkable and he had the faculty of giving his attention to several subjects at the same time, so that he could hear a letter read, dictate orders, and witness a theatrical exhibition all at once, without being distracted by any one of these occupations."

Haidar figures in the novel chiefly as a check on the licentiousness of his son. There is no doubt that he was gravely concerned for the upbringing of his son. It is recorded that Tipu was on one occasion publicly flogged at Chinkurali. Haidar also extracted from him an agreement in which the youth declared "that, if he commit theft or fraud, etc. . . he should be strangled . . ."<sup>29</sup>

But though it suits Scott's purpose in developing the plot of his romance to ascribe to Tipu a vicious lust for the "lily of Feringistan," history does not fully support such a possibility. Tipu was throughout his life characterised by his contempt for women. In a letter in 1786 he writes, "You must leave the women and other rubbish together with the superfluous baggage of your army, behind."<sup>30</sup> "In fact, the Sultan, though he left a dozen

<sup>28</sup> Bowring, p. 62.

<sup>29</sup> This document is published in full in "South of India" by Wilkes. Bowring, p. 224.

<sup>30</sup> Bowring, p. 217

sons behind him, does not appear to have been, like his father, very susceptible to the charms of the fair sex. He deemed women of little account with the sole exception of his mother, whose influence over him was great.”<sup>31</sup>

It is curious that Scott should have reversed the qualities of the father and son, making the former who was really of loose morals the chastiser of his more virtuous son. But in a campaign in Kanara against the Portuguese, “it is stated that Tipu demanded the surrender of the daughters of some of these Christians in order to have them placed in his seraglio, and that on the refusal of the parents, the latter had their noses, ears and upper lips cut off and were then paraded through the streets on asses, with their faces towards the tails of the animals.”<sup>32</sup> Of Tipu’s personal qualities in general and comparative purity there exist favourable opinions. “Tipu showed his orthodoxy as a strict Mussalman in strictly prohibiting the sale of intoxicating drinks. Although his method of proceeding was somewhat arbitrary, and he cared little about ‘local option,’ it must be admitted that in this department he showed himself a sensible reformer. He did indeed permit M. Lally to open one shop in his camp for the vending of spirituous liquor but he firmly restricted the use of it to the French soldiers in his service.”<sup>33</sup>

We may quote here an account of Tipu’s general pretensions from Bowring: “It may be remarked that his pen was most prolific and that he condescended to write to his officials both civil and military detailed instructions in every considerable matter, whether the question before him related to military operations, general regulations, or even petty trading. He pronounced decided opinions on science, medicine, commerce, religious observances, engineering,

<sup>31</sup> Of course Tipu is only a young man in the novel, and as such he can justifiably be represented as the novelist chooses.

<sup>32</sup> Bowring, p. 126.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid*, p. 214.

military establishments, and a host of abstruse matters with equal facility, but with little real knowledge." <sup>34</sup>

Scott has also reversed the qualities of the father and son in the matter of religious bigotry. It is well known that Tipu was a great Mussalman bigot and that his father was quite tolerant. "In marked contrast to his successor, he was entirely free from bigotry, being indeed wholly indifferent to religious sentiments, and he cared not a jot what faith his officials followed so long as they obeyed his behests."

Lastly, with reference to Dr. Hartley's death in Madras we may extract here a Madras letter dated the 28th of September 1781 to a Calcutta newspaper: "Death. Gilbert Paisley, Esq., Surgeon-General on the coast, whose services at Madras had rendered him greatly respected, having been resident there upwards of 25 years." <sup>35</sup> We may extract also an account given by Carey of a "veteran Madras doctor": "Dr. Thomas Key entered the local service while the nineteenth century was still young, and died an octogenarian. He was to the last a hale and hearty specimen of the good old school of Indian doctors. Raised in Edinburgh he was nothing if he was not before all things a Scot. He died as he had lived, a confirmed bachelor." <sup>36</sup>

In concluding this investigation into the historical basis of Scott's "Surgeon's Daughter" it may be asked whether this "slight" novel as Bowring calls it will justify the search. Though the novel is slight, the impression left is such that we very much wish it had been longer. The historical novel has a secure place in creative literary art essentially in virtue of the well-known maxim that truth is stronger than fiction. Sir Philip Sidney points out in his "Apologie for Poesie" that poetry exerts its influence to

<sup>34</sup> Bowring writes in a footnote on p. 210: "Tipu laid claim to universal knowledge, but was certainly eclipsed by the famous Dane, Archbishop Absalon, who died in 1202. We may however add here that a more legitimate comparison will lie between Tipu and the present German Emperor.

<sup>35</sup> *The Vestiges*, Vol. III, p. 177

<sup>36</sup> Carey.

elevate human morals in a more effective fashion than either history or philosophy. The fact is, history or philosophy should borrow the poetic talent to make itself most impressive. Scott has ably woven a romance of an exciting period of South Indian history. May it not be hoped that the readers of this romance will turn with a new zest to acquaint themselves with the story of South India in past centuries?

P. R. KRISHNASWAMI.

*Kumbakonam.*

## THE CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY COMMISSION REPORT.

*The Point of View.*

BY THE EDITOR.

FEW commissions have been more ably constituted for their work than the Calcutta University Commission. The members have brought to their task a very varied experience. One of their favourite expressions is the word "synthesis," and they themselves are a synthesis of East and West, bringing many particulars to a unity. Expert knowledge of educational problems and practical experience in the handling of them are supplemented by intimate local knowledge, enthusiastic and enlightened patriotism, profound historical learning, and accurate and wide-ranging scientific attainment, while uncommon aptitude for organisation is a possession which the members of the Commission enjoy in common. They are equipped both for the amassing of facts and for the interpretation of these facts. They are, therefore, unlikely to fall under the spell of a conservatism which sees a golden age in every period of the past, and, on the other hand, they are capable of administering a subtle rebuke to the reformer from the West whose confidence is in inverse proportion to the length of his residence, who is only faintly aware of the existence of University types outside his own tradition, and whose acute consciousness of being a pioneer in the discovery of University problems in Bengal is only equalled by his blindness to the patient efforts made to solve these very problems during many years preceding his advent.

From such a Commission we looked for great things in the way of a Report, and they have not disappointed

us. Even those who were disposed to become humorously sarcastic over the duration of the labours of the Commission, have been reduced to silence by the magnitude of the product. Five large volumes, averaging 400 pages each, to be followed by eight volumes of appendices, are a sufficient proof of industry. There will be universal agreement as to the carefulness of the diagnosis which is offered, though there may be difference of opinion regarding its accuracy in certain details, and acute controversy over the methods of cure which are suggested.

It has been the fashion for many years to abuse the University of Calcutta. The whole system has been described as a blunder, a foreign importation wholly unsuited to Indian conditions, involving a total disregard of tradition and producing appalling results in the shape of conceit, discontent and inefficiency. No institution is perfect, and it is possible that in many cases this judgment has been merited, but it is also possible that in many cases it has been unmerited, and the point which should be urged is that no true judgment is possible where the critics have simply fallen victims to a prevailing fashion, have indulged in sarcastic flippancy instead of undertaking patient investigation and have made no sincere effort to see both sides of the question. Such accusations cannot be brought against the members of the present Commission. They are fully conscious of much that is wrong, but also of much that is healthy and full of promise in the present educational system.

A primary requisite for attaining a proper point of view is a sense of the magnitude of the problem, and much harsh criticism on the one side and extravagant adulation on the other, might have been avoided if the critics had set themselves to consider more carefully the aim of education and its relations to the political and religious life of the country. There are those who take a narrowly vocational view of education. The business employer, e.g.,

has amongst the applicants for places in his office many graduates of the University. He does not, perhaps, find that they are particularly efficient clerks, and he forthwith condemns the whole educational system, without stopping to ask whether the University was primarily designed to supply clerks for his office, whether he has had experience of any but the less efficient products of the University system, and whether there may not be other ends served by a University of which he has no cognisance, seeing that they have not formed part of his ideal of practical efficiency. I do not claim that the employer should immediately take it for granted that the University has succeeded in the accomplishment of these other aims any better than in the training of clerks, but what I do urge is that the business man should not conclude right off that, because the University has failed in the particular function in which he is interested, it has, therefore, failed absolutely and in every respect.

The narrowly vocational ideal is, however, not confined to business circles. It has been favoured also by the close connection which exists in this country between academic success and government employment. There is no point on which the Commissioners comment more frequently and more adversely than this that education is not sought for its own sake but with a view to the securing of a lucrative appointment. Of such appointments there are not enough to go round, and though, in the opinion of the Commission there is not as yet much actual unemployment, yet salaries are decreasing, the number of the educated is increasing, and before long there will be in existence a large and discontented intellectual proletariat, bemoaning their alleged inefficiency and their poverty. Especially will this be the case, if the training which is given, while it continues to be of a vocational character, is not made more effective for its particular purposes and widened so as to include preparation for technical and commercial

pursuit. The problem is undoubtedly acute and no one will deny that the University has failed in many ways.

But this is not the whole of the picture, and the Commissioners show their grasp of the situation by their frank acknowledgment that amidst many failures there are many successes. They point with justice to the vigorous intellectual life in many circles, to brilliant scientists and no less brilliant lawyers and doctors, to capable, conscientious and progressive officials who have been dependent almost entirely for their education on the University, and with regard to whom it is very far from being the case that the system "instead of encouraging the love of learning, kills it." There have been men in Calcutta University of which any university in the world might be proud, and they are not without their successors amongst the present generation of students. And, as the Report indicates, there are in the University of to-day forces working in the direction of reform, which, if they were rightly directed, are capable of working out a considerable measure of salvation. And the system cannot be altogether a failure which has produced a body of enlightened opinion such as that placed at the disposal of the Commissioners by their Indian correspondents.

But to return to the question of failure, with which after all the Commission has chiefly to do, seeing that its function is to suggest a remedy. If the University has failed in many directions; what are the causes of this failure? These causes are both theoretical and practical. They arise from mistaken ideals and from mistaken methods in the working out of these ideals, and the theoretical misconceptions and the practical difficulties act and react upon one another. Because of certain practical difficulties it may be found on occasion only one conception of education can be worked out, and this conception naturally comes to occupy the whole field and to exclude other more worthy ideals.

Theoretically and in regard to its ideals the University may be said to have fallen between two stools, or rather to have suffered from an unfortunate combination of two ideals in education. Historians of education have usually pointed out that education may be either liberal or vocational, *i.e.*, it may aim at the culture of the whole man, the securing of educational health, the development of the capacity for the attainment of truth through patient accumulation of facts and scientific correlation of them, with resulting efficiency in the formulation of judgment. Or, on the other hand, it may be vocational, *i.e.*, it may aim at the preparation of a man for a particular profession. Now education in Bengal has, as we have seen, been to a large extent vocational, but it has not been *sufficiently* vocational, and it has been vocational in the wrong way. It has not provided a training for a sufficient number of occupations, and thus the students have crowded disconsolately up many blind alleys. The University ought to have provided or at least suggested diverging paths at an earlier stage in the journey. This reflection is closely connected with the criticism that the University has been vocational in the wrong way; it has attempted to prepare for particular professions by means of a general education. This general education has usually taken a literary form; it has been prostituted to ends which it was never intended to serve, and this degradation has affected the ideal itself of what is meant by a liberal education. It has been offered to all and sundry, both to those who were capable only of a vocational education and ought to have received it at an earlier stage, and to those who might have profited by the wider preparation involved in a liberal education truly conceived. The former have found themselves insufficiently equipped for their particular occupation, and the latter have not been assisted towards true culture. In their case the literary education has not succeeded in freeing itself from the trammels of the vocational. It has been viewed as a means to an end and not as an end in

itself. The knowledge acquired has been regarded from the point of view of its examinational value. It has become an affair of mere book learning and proficiency has depended rather upon perfection of memory than upon ripeness of judgment. It has, further, not been related to the total character capacity of the student and has failed to realise the cultural ideal in the highest sense. The Commissioners point out that this state of matters is largely due to the exotic character of the education supplied. It has been imported from the West, is given in a non-vernacular language, and is thus not readily assimilated to the original mental equipment of the student and to his traditional inheritance. It is besides utilitarian in character. The Commissioners hardly give sufficient weight to the effect of Indian tradition itself in identifying learning with prodigious feats of memorising, but they are right in pointing out that the condonation of Western learning as in itself utilitarian is not wholly justified. Much of the value of Western education has lain not in the knowledge conveyed, but in the influence of the moral and religious personality of the teacher, and a most relevant suggestion is made in the Report that improvement in India will come through greater opportunity for the exercise of such moral and religious personal influence. But the fact remains that it is the products rather than the processes of Western education which have been imported into India, and the consequent divorce between the knowledge acquired and the total personality of the student has had disastrous results. He is equipped neither for a particular life nor for life in general. Neither liberal nor vocational education has been a success and the failure of the one has led to the failure of the other.

The reference to moral and religious influence suggest one other remark in this connection. A noteworthy feature of the report is its emphasis upon the necessity for moral and religious education, if education is to fulfil its true function

of preparing a man for the responsibilities of life. Most cordial recognition is given to the work of the missionary colleges and their insistence upon the union of education and religion, and there is a disposition to give new interpretation to the principle of religious neutrality whereby it will come to mean, not the exclusion of religion from university education, but the affording of ample and impartial opportunity to all to give such religious instruction as they may desire. This is simply one aspect of the insistence upon the ideal of education as a preparation for life in general and not as the acquisition of stores of book learning. The degradation of the ideal of education to mere acquisition has been largely due to the tyranny, under the present circumstances, of the examination system, and one of the central problems dealt with in the report is how to get rid of this system without diminishing the efficiency of the education given. It will be found that this problem leads immediately to the practical difficulties which the Commission have been called upon to face. The tyranny of examinations and the generally impersonal character of the education is largely the result of the size of the University, and to the Commission's treatment of difficulties connected with size we must now turn.

“The University of Calcutta is, in respect of the number of its students, the largest university in the world.” The Commissioners put this statement in the forefront of their Report and thus indicate that they consider that it is in this fact of hugeness that their chief difficulties lie. The University is overgrown, amorphous and somewhat unmanageable. The figures are as striking as they are incontestable. In 1917-18 there were about 26,000 students in Bengal preparing for university degrees and in 1918 over 16,000 candidates entered for the matriculation examination. The bearing of these vast figures may be seen by a comparison with similar statistics for the United Kingdom. The population of Bengal and the United Kingdom

is about the same, *viz.*, 45,000,000 and the number of university students is also the same, 26,000, in both countries. But in the United Kingdom there are eighteen universities of varying types, whereas in Bengal there is only one university with a rigid system of courses of study and of examinations. It is obvious that the task can be undertaken in Bengal under these conditions only by means of a rigid mechanism, and that the rigidity of the mechanism may produce strangulation rather than life.

There are some people in whom the statement of these vast numbers seems to cause a feeling akin to amusement. Just because there are so many students they look upon the whole system of education as more or less of a farce, and, if any difficulties are suggested in their presence, they suggest the simple solution of shutting up the colleges and reducing the number of students. But the Commissioners are very far from taking such a superficial view of the matter. They recognise the genuine desire for education of which these numbers are the indication, and they suggest reform in the quality and organisation of the education given rather than a reduction of the number of those educated. It is true that they draw attention to the fact that the proportion of university students to the total *educated* community is about ten times as great as it is in the United Kingdom, and in this there might seem to lie a slight hint of over-education, but they would surely admit that the relevant consideration is the proportion of students to the *total* population and that where the mass of the population is illiterate, the quality of the education of the few becomes all the more important. They would not surely be a party to the argument that because only a few are educated therefore these few should not be highly educated. Indeed in another part of the Report they urge that "the fate and fortunes of every people depend on the opportunities which it offers to its ablest sons . . . . . and any system stands self-condemned which fails to make itself a means

for selecting men of promise and of affording them every possible opportunity of bringing their powers to full fruition, not for their own advantage alone, but for the common-wealth."

These last few words are typical of the general attitude of the Commissioners to the phenomenal extent of educational interest in Bengal. They view this desire for education, and its indefinite increase, as part of the wider political problem. "We cannot point," they say, "to any educational movement upon the scale of that now visible in Bengal which has not been the overture to a period of social tension and of far-reaching change." It is part of a general movement towards economic and social betterment of life, and an indication of a desire that India should remove from herself the stigma of illiteracy, should revive the glories of her intellectual heritage, and take her sure place amongst the nations of the world. It is a deep seated and in very many respects a laudable and unselfish desire. There is probably no country of the world in which educational problems occupy to a similar extent the attention of the literate community. It is almost sacrilege for critics to jeer at tendencies which manifest themselves in such extremes of self-denial as are occasionally met with in Bengal. As the Report says, "Higher education in Bengal is being bought at the price of self-denial and in many cases of actual hunger." And in very many cases the desire is not simply for the means of gaining a livelihood. There is much patient effort to elevate the whole community and to remove the ignorance which is the chief barrier to progress, even though the first result of these efforts may be to increase the competition for the all too scanty appointments which are at present open to the educated classes. The Commissioners do not overstate the case when they say, that "from the outset Bengal has been remarkable for the extent to which private enterprise in education has been displayed by the people of the country themselves."

It is a genuine desire, this desire for education, and to repress it would be to turn back the wheels of progress. But the desire is not manifesting itself in the proper way, and its universality is hindering success. Obviously the University cannot meet the huge demands made upon it, without considerable reconstruction. Its organisation is insufficient. The executive bodies are overburdened, and many duties are overlooked or are badly performed. Then uniformity over such a vast area and in relation to such vast numbers can be secured only by a rigid examination system which tyrannises over the whole of education. Teaching is almost wholly directed towards preparing the students for passing the examinations. The course is narrowed to this end and cramming of the most deplorable type is encouraged. The state of the schools is such that the boys who enter the University are insufficiently prepared, and can obtain success only by prodigious feats of memory. The supply and quality of teachers is inadequate for the demands made upon them. The teachers have not mastered the subjects they teach, and so they cannot impart their knowledge in a vivid way to their pupils. Many of them are disappointed men who have taken up teaching because they have failed to gain admission into other professions. They have to deal with huge numbers in their classes, and have neither leisure nor opportunity to exert any individual influence over their pupils. Thus the education imparted is often unworthy of the name. It is artificial and lifeless. The wrong methods are used. Much of the work done in colleges ought to be done in schools and would be far better done there, if only the schools were themselves more efficient. The more brilliant pupils are sacrificed to the average men or the sub-average, and true university work is hampered by association with what is really school work. There are not sufficient resources to make scientific and technical courses possible in many cases, and so students are turned

out to fight the battle of life with exceedingly scanty equipment.

Such is the diagnosis of the Commission. They feel that education is a force, and an overwhelming force in Bengal, but that it is not as yet a remedy, and they desire to transform it into a remedy for the many social and economic evils of which they are acutely conscious, to develop by means of it true culture and reliable character so that from the University there may emerge worthy leaders of the community capable of guiding their fellow-countrymen to the satisfaction of their intellectual, economic, social and religious desires. A consideration of the remedies which the Commissioners propose and of their adequacy and feasibility will have to be deferred to another article. It is probably a matter of common knowledge that their suggestions include a separation between Intermediate and University education, and the placing of the former under a separate Board; the foundation of a University at Dacca, which will be a unitary teaching University; and a reorganisation of University teaching in Calcutta such as will have the effect of linking up more closely the more efficient colleges within the city, and giving them a greater voice in the management of University affairs. The fate of the less efficient colleges in Calcutta will tremble in the balance for a number of years, but the Commissioners refrain from definite prophecies as to their latter end. The mufassal colleges will be more or less closely connected with the University of Calcutta, but their students will not have quite so many advantages. To the more efficient mufassal colleges there is given the encouragement that they are really potential universities and that some day they may emerge from the chrysalis state.

It is obvious that all these proposals will require enormous financial resources, but the Report is quite optimistic regarding this aspect of the matter. They have certainly convinced us that cheap education is worse than useless if

it is also bad, and that it can only be made cheap and good by a considerable increase of public expenditure.

In any case the Commissioners consider that the expenditure is justifiable. "We are aware," they say, "that what we have proposed may at first sight appear too exacting a burden upon the public revenues. We should agree if the expenditure which we advise to be made were unproductive. But in our belief it will be remunerative expenditure, not only in its effect upon the deeper sources of moral strength, but also upon the economic welfare of the country and its civil and industrial initiative. We should not have thought it desirable to propose expenditure with a view to the indefinite enlargement of the kinds of unprofitable education now prevalent in Bengal . . . . Bengal requires types of education which make the individual more productive and enhance the social and economic well-being of the whole people. These types of education, however, are more costly than the education now supplied. If it is urged that the tax-payers of Bengal are too poor to be able to pay for the advantages of such an improved education, our answer is that Bengal is too poor to be able to afford the waste of ability which is caused by the present system. A change . . . will in the long run be an economy, as well as in other ways a boon to Bengal ; and, through Bengal, to India and the world."

The Report displays much greater anxiety regarding the organisation of the new schemes, and especially regarding the period of transition. But even here they are not without hope. The elaborate character of their suggestions shows a carefulness of consideration which will command confidence in many quarters, and will win that public sympathy which the Commissioners so much desire. It is to be feared, however, that some critics will be inclined to say that the Commissioners have pinned their faith too much to one prescription and have applied it too frequently. The favourite panacea for pains in the

academic body politic is the constitution of a new Board, and where this fails or does not take effect quickly enough an Executive Commission is recommended. It is to be hoped that the remedy will prove efficacious, but if public confidence is to be won, sufficient time must be given for the analysis of the remedies, and old-fashioned cures must be abandoned, not so much through compulsion or of necessity as through the discovery of the superior efficacy of the new prescription.

THE EDITOR.

## REVIEWS OF BOOKS.

### THE LAND THEY LOVED.—By G. D. Cummins. (Macmillan's Colonial Library.)

This is a slowly-moving story of life in Ireland during the latter months of the war. Kate Carmody, the heroine, comes home from America to her native village, Droumavalla. She finds it intolerably empty and silent. All the young men have either been killed in France and in the Sinn Fein troubles or have emigrated to America. The more personal sorrow for her is that two brothers, Steve and Michael Turpin, are both dead after a bitter quarrel with each other, for one had become a soldier in a British Army and the other a Sinn Feiner. Kate tries to satisfy her longing for life by taking service in Dublin, but it cannot be said that her experiences are very exciting, or that her tempestuous nature expresses itself in anything much finer than bursts of ill-temper and flirtations with policeman 39X. However, we are told that she is continuing her quest for a "whole man"—and we must believe the statement, and also the further suggestion that she was successful in the end and found the complete lover in the person of the younger brother of her former heroes, the only man in Droumavalla. He had proved himself by having courage enough to hang up the photograph of his British soldier brother alongside that of the Sinn Fein patriot. The characters in the book are not convincing, but there are passages of insight into the spirit of the times in Ireland, and, to say the least, the outlook is not particularly bright.

### ANTHROPOLOGICAL PAPERS, PART II.—By Shams-ul-Ulma Jivanji Jamshedhi Modi, C.I.E. (British India Press, Bombay). Pp. 369.

This is a second collection of papers read before the Anthropological Society of Bombay. The preface contains a number of notices of Vol. I by the same author, his formal thanks to the society for the opportunity of anthropological training that its meetings had afforded him, and

naïf remarks on his visits to Bombay. The previous volume contained thirty papers, while this one contains twenty and a full index. Anthropology is a term that may be made to cover much irrelevant matter. Its very interest often betrays the observer and the writer into diffuseness, and the result is that volumes are published which could be happily abridged so as to become pamphlets.

This collection illustrates the common failing. The paper on the Vadaris of the villages round the Deolali Camp in the Nasik district has its value, and yet even in this bit of original observation, the author found that he had been in part anticipated. All that is written here on the Parsis, their birth, customs and ceremonies, and the frequent illustration from the Avesta of customs prevalent in other lands have both interest and value. But what the author has to say on Thibetan customs and prayer wheels has been written again and again by those who have really studied these subjects. The paper on "sex in birth and sex after death" is in great part made up of quotations from a "Nineteenth Century" article, and another paper is drawn from the "Academy" in the same way. The very inadequate synopsis of Dr. Keith's book on the "Antiquity of Man" does not carry one far in that large subject. Unless students of Anthropology are prepared to exercise a severe self-restraint in their published works, they can expect only the curious to be their readers. They do not advance knowledge.

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**THE SECRET BATTLE.**—By A. P. Herbert. (Methuen and Co.)

This is described as a first novel and the writer, identifiable by the initials, "A. P. H.," is already known as a contributor to *Punch*. It is to be hoped that his further essays in this line of literature will be of a more cheerful character, for this is one of the most painful books we have recently read. But it is a book of genius; it reads like a narrative of what actually took place, of what perhaps did take place over and over again. It is the story of a British officer who begins with enthusiasm, in fact with so much enthusiasm as to bore his companions to the verge of desperation. Everything interests him, no duty is too unpleasant, and he volunteers for the most dangerous tasks. But gradually his nerve begins to break down. The sufferings and the disease of Gallipoli have much to do with it, and also one or

two mistakes for which he was hardly to be blamed, but which cost the lives of men. He becomes afraid of himself, afraid of being afraid, although on several occasions his deeds of bravery ought to have won him the M.C. France completes the process, the speed being accelerated by the jealousy of a brother officer, and the stupidity of a "regular" superior officer, an old "dug-out." All the time Harry fights a secret battle against his nerves, but in the end he is overcome. He had just been home on leave, and had refused a safe billet. On the night of his return the unimaginative superior officer placed him in charge of a carrying-party to undertake a particularly dangerous piece of work. Harry found he had not nerve enough to pass a certain point. His nerves gave way, and he ran for shelter,—ran *from* the enemy. The court-martial resulted in a verdict of guilty, and one of the bravest of men was shot for cowardice. It surely need not have happened—this is the argument of the book, and it will be the conviction also of those who read it. The sombre story will fascinate them and they will feel that they have been watching a tragedy, illustrating once more the awful waste of war in the destruction of happiness and the lives of men.

## PERIODICALS.

### THE QUARTERLY REVIEW.—July, 1919.

The place of honour in this number is given to an article by Professor R. S. Rait, the Historiographer-Royal of Scotland, on the relations of Queen Victoria and France. The argument is that though the late Queen was so closely related to Germany, she did not always love her relations. In fact, she occasionally spoke her mind very plainly to them, as relations have a way of doing amongst themselves, and welcomed every opportunity of friendly relations with France. Another historical article deals with more remote events and gives an interesting account of Clive's work in India. The very present question of the place of women in India is dealt with somewhat vaguely by Mr. Lynden Macassey. He favours the principle that women should not be paid according to the same rates as men but in proportion to their efficiency in any particular industry. He does not, however, indicate very clearly how this efficiency is to be measured; neither does he deal with the fundamental problem of the greater economic responsibilities of men relative

to the fact that it is still more normal for the husband to support the wife than for the wife to support the husband. Mr. Carlile puts in a very sensible plea for the development of inland water-transport and urges the formation of a new port in the neighbourhood of the Wash, especially for the sake of the ocean tramps who would thus be provided with a home of their own and would not be compelled to compete with the aristocratic ocean liners. The Rector of Christiania University discusses State morality in a learned article, in which, while refusing to identify the moral obligations of the individual and the State, he yet argues that the rule of "hands off" applies to both and that we shall never reach the true basis for peace until the positive responsibilities of nations to one another are recognised. He deals trenchantly with the plea that wars of aggression may be justified by excuses of necessity for expansion or consciousness of a civilising vocation.

### THE LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW.—July, 1919.

The leading article in this number, entitled "The Bishop of London on Anglican and Wesleyan Reunion," contains criticism of the Bishop's proposals from the Wesleyan and the Evangelical Anglican points of view. Neither of the writers sees any immediate prospect of a practical outcome so long as re-ordination by bishops is insisted on as a *sine qua non*. The article contains an excellent statement of the principles at stake.

St. Nihal Singh writes on "Caste and the New Indian Constitution." He admits that the existence of caste divisions certainly does not make for union or progress, but argues that the superiority of the Brahman, as imposed upon the non-Brahman by Manu, is doomed and that indeed to a considerable extent it has passed away already. "The walls that stand apparently intact have been shaken to their foundations . . . and before the world realises what has happened, they will crumble and collapse as did the feudalistic edifice in Europe."

"Swinburne and Watts-Dunton" by Coulson Kernahan gives a most interesting picture of the intimate relationship which existed between these two men and the great influence exerted by the one upon the other.

Other articles of interest are "Methodism in English Literature" by Isaiah Parker, and "Christ and St. Paul, the Epi-Christ" by F. W. Orde Ward.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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